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AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS.

BY

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AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

NATURE AND CAUSES

OF THE

WEALTH OF NATIONS.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

Of the Accumulation of Capital, or of productive and unproductive Labour.

THERE is one ſort of labour which adds to the value of the ſubject upon which it is beſtowed: there is another which has no ſuch effect. The former, as it produces a value, may be called productive; the latter, unproductive * labour. Thus the labour of a manufacturer adds, generally, to the value of the materials which he works upon, that of his own maintenance, and of his maſter's profit. The labour of a menial ſervant, on the contrary, adds to the value of nothing. Though the manufacturer has

* Some French authors of great learning and ingenuity have uſed thoſe words in a different ſenſe. In the laſt chapter of the fourth book, I ſhall endeavour to ſhow that their ſenſe is an improper one.

his wages advanced to him by his maſter, he, in reality, coſts him no expence, the value of thoſe wages being generally reſtored, together with a profit, in the improved value of the ſubject upon which his labour is beſtowed. But the maintenance of a menial ſervant never is reſtored. A man grows rich by employing a multitude of manufacturers: he grows poor, by maintaining a multitude of menial ſervants. The labour of the latter, however, has its value, and deſerves its reward as well as that of the former. But the labour of the manufacturer fixes and realizes itſelf in ſome particular ſubject or vendible commodity, which laſts for ſome time at leaſt after that labour is paſt. It is, as it were, a certain quantity of labour ſtocked and ſtored up to be employed, if neceſſary, upon ſome other occaſion. That ſubject, or what is the ſame thing, the price of that ſubject, can afterwards, if neceſſary, put into motion a quantity of labour equal to that which had originally produced it. The labour of the menial ſervant, on the contrary, does not fix or realize itſelf in any particular ſubject or vendible commodity. His ſervices generally periſh in the very inſtant of their performance, and ſeldom leave any trace or value behind them, for which an equal quantity of ſervice could afterwards be procured.

THE labour of ſome of the moſt reſpectable orders in the ſociety is, like that of menial ſervants, unproductive of any value, and does not fix or realize itſelf in any permanent ſubject, or vendible commodity, which endures after that labour is paſt, and for which an equal quantity of labour could afterwards be procured. The ſovereign, for example, with all the officers both of juſtice and war who ſerve under him, the whole army and navy, are unproductive labourers. They are the ſervants of the public, and are maintained by a part of the annual produce

of

of the industry of other people. Their service, how honourable, how useful, or how necessary soever, produces nothing for which an equal quantity of service can afterwards be procured. The protection, security, and defence of the commonwealth, the effect of their labour this year, will not purchase its protection, security, and defence for the year to come. In the same class must be ranked, some both of the gravest and most important, and some of the most frivolous professions: churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters of all kinds; players, buffoons, musicians, opera-singers, opera-dancers, &c. The labour of the meanest of these has a certain value, regulated by the very same principles which regulate that of every other sort of labour; and that of the noblest and most useful, produces nothing which could afterwards purchase or procure an equal quantity of labour. Like the declamation of the actor, the harangue of the orator, or the tune of the musician, the work of all of them perishes in the very instant of its production.

BOTH productive and unproductive labourers, and those who do not labour at all, are all equally maintained by the annual produce of the land and labour of the country. This produce, how great soever, can never be infinite, but must have certain limits. According, therefore, as a smaller or greater proportion of it is in any one year employed in maintaining unproductive hands, the more in the one case and the less in the other will remain for the productive, and the next year's produce will be greater or smaller accordingly; the whole annual produce, if we except the spontaneous productions of the earth, being the effect of productive labour.

THOUGH the whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country, is, no doubt, ultimately destined for supplying the consumption of its inhabitants,

bitants, and for procuring a revenue to them; yet when it firſt comes either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, it naturally divides itſelf into two parts. One of them, and frequently the largeſt, is, in the firſt place, deſtined for replacing a capital, or for renewing the proviſions, materials, and finiſhed work, which had been withdrawn from a capital; the other for conſtituting a revenue either to the owner of this capital, as the profit of his ſtock; or to ſome other perſon, as the rent of his land. Thus, of the produce of land, one part replaces the capital of the farmer; the other pays his profit and the rent of the landlord; and thus conſtitutes a revenue both to the owner of this capital, as the profits of his ſtock; and to ſome other perſon, as the rent of his land. Of the produce of a great manufactory, in the ſame manner, one part, and that always the largeſt, replaces the capital of the undertaker of the work; the other pays his profit, and thus conſtitutes a revenue to the owner of this capital.

THAT part of the annual produce of the land and labour of any country which replaces a capital, never is immediately employed to maintain any but productive hands. It pays the wages of productive labour only. That which is immediately deſtined for conſtituting a revenue either as profit or as rent, may maintain indifferently either productive or unproductive hands.

WHATEVER part of his ſtock a man employs as a capital, he always expects is to be replaced to him with a profit. He employs it, therefore, in maintaining productive hands only; and after having ſerved in the function of a capital to him, it conſtitutes a revenue to them. Whenever he employs any part of it in maintaining unproductive hands of any kind, that part is, from that moment, withdrawn from his capital,

tal, and placed in his ſtock reſerved for immediate conſumption.

UNPRODUCTIVE labourers, and thoſe who do not labour at all, are all maintained by revenue; either, firſt, by that part of the annual produce which is originally deſtined for conſtituting a revenue to ſome particular perſons, either as the rent of land or as the profits of ſtock; or, ſecondly, by that part which, though originally deſtined for replacing a capital and for maintaining productive labourers only, yet when it comes into their hands, whatever part of it is over and above their neceſſary ſubſiſtence, may be employed in maintaining indifferently either productive or unproductive hands. Thus, not only the great landlord, or the rich merchant, but even the common workman, if his wages are conſiderable, may maintain a menial ſervant; or he may ſometimes go to a play or a puppet ſhow, and ſo contribute his ſhare towards maintaining one ſet of unproductive labourers; or he may pay ſome taxes, and thus help to maintain another ſet, more honourable and uſeful, indeed, but equally unproductive. No part of the annual produce, however, which had been originally deſtined to replace a capital, is ever directed towards maintaining unproductive hands, till after it has put into motion its full complement of productive labour, or all that it could put into motion in the way in which it was employed. The workman muſt have earned his wages by work done, before he can employ any part of them in this manner. That part of them too is generally but a ſmall one. It is his ſpare revenue only, of which productive labourers have ſeldom a great deal. They generally have ſome, however; and in the payment of taxes the greatneſs of their number may compenſate, in ſome meaſure, the ſmallneſs of their contribution. The rent of land and the profits of ſtock are every-where, therefore,

the principal ſources from which unproductive hands derive their ſubſiſtence. Theſe are the two ſorts of revenue of which the owners have generally moſt to ſpare. They might both maintain indifferently either productive or unproductive hands. They ſeem, however, to have ſome predilection for the latter. The expence of a great lord feeds generally more idle than induſtrious people. The rich merchant, though with his capital he maintains induſtrious people only, yet by his expence, that is, by the employment of his revenue, he feeds commonly the very ſame ſort as the great lord.

THE proportion, therefore, between the productive and unproductive hands, depends very much in every country upon the proportion between that part of the annual produce, which, as ſoon as it comes either from the ground or from the hands of the productive labourers, is deſtined for replacing a capital, and that which is deſtined for conſtituting a revenue, either as rent, or as profit. This proportion is very different in rich from what it is in poor countries.

THUS, at preſent, in the opulent countries of Europe, a very large, frequently the largeſt portion of the produce of the land, is deſtined for replacing the capital of the rich and independent farmer; the other for paying his profits, and the rent of the landlord. But anciently, during the prevalency of the feudal government, a very ſmall portion of the produce was ſufficient to replace the capital employed in cultivation. It conſiſted commonly in a few wretched cattle, maintained altogether by the ſpontaneous produce of uncultivated land, and which might, therefore, be conſidered as a part of that ſpontaneous produce. It generally belonged to the landlord, and was by him advanced to the occupiers of the land. All the reſt of the produce properly belonged to him too, either as rent for his land, or as profit upon his paultry capital.

pital. The occupiers of land were generally bondmen, whose persons and effects were equally his property. —Those who were not bondmen were tenants at will, and though the rent which they paid was often nominally little more than a quit-rent, it really amounted to the whole produce of the land. Their lord could at all times command their labour in peace, and their service in war. Though they lived at a distance from his house, they were equally dependent upon him as his retainers who lived in it. But the whole produce of the land undoubtedly belongs to him, who can dispose of the labour and service of all those whom it maintains. In the present state of Europe, the share of the landlord seldom exceeds a third, sometimes not a fourth part of the whole produce of the land. The rent of land, however, in all the improved parts of the country, has been tripled and quadrupled since those ancient times; and this third or fourth part of the annual produce is, it seems, three or four times greater than the whole had been before. In the progress of improvement, rent, though it increases in proportion to the extent, diminishes in proportion to the produce of the land.

In the opulent countries of Europe, great capitals are at present employed in trade and manufactures. In the ancient state, the little trade that was stirring, and the few homely and coarse manufactures that were carried on, required but very small capitals.— These, however, must have yielded very large profits. The rate of interest was no where less than ten per cent. and their profits must have been sufficient to afford this great interest. At present the rate of interest, in the improved parts of Europe, is no-where higher than six per cent. and in some of the most improved it is so low as four, three, and two per cent. Though that part of the revenue of the inhabitants which is derived from the profits of stock is always much

much greater in rich than in poor countries, it is because the ſtock is much greater: in proportion to the ſtock the profits are generally much leſs.

THAT part of the annual produce, therefore, which as ſoon as it comes either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, is deſtined for replacing a capital, is not only much greater in rich than in poor countries, but bears a much greater proportion to that which is immediately deſtined for conſtituting a revenue either as rent or as profit. The funds deſtined for the maintenance of productive labour, are not only much greater in the former than in the latter, but bear a much greater proportion to thoſe which, though they may be employed to maintain either productive or unproductive hands, have generally a predilection for the latter.

THE proportion between thoſe different funds neceſſarily determines in every country the general character of the inhabitants as to induſtry or idleneſs.—We are more induſtrious than our forefathers; becauſe in the preſent times funds deſtined for the maintenance of induſtry, are much greater in proportion to thoſe which are likely to be employed in the maintenance of idleneſs, than they were two or three centuries ago. Our anceſtors were idle for want of a ſufficient encouragement to induſtry. It is better, ſays the proverb, to play for nothing, than to work for nothing. In mercantile and manufacturing towns, where the inferior ranks of people are chiefly maintained by the employment of capital, they are in general induſtrious, ſober, and thriving; as in many Engliſh, and in moſt Dutch towns. In thoſe towns which are principally ſupported by the conſtant or occaſional reſidence of a court, and in which the inferior ranks of people are chiefly maintained by the ſpending of revenue, they are in general idle, diſſolute, and poor; as at Rome, Verſailles, Compiegne, and Fontainbleau. If you

except

except Rouen and Bourdeaux, there is little trade or induſtry in any of the parliament towns of France; and the inferior ranks of people, being chiefly maintained by the expence of the members of the courts of juſtice, and of thoſe who come to plead before them, are in general idle and poor. The great trade of Rouen and Bourdeaux ſeems to be altogether the effect of their ſituation. Rouen is neceſſarily the entrepôt of almoſt all the goods which are brought either from foreign countries, or from the maritime provinces of France, for the conſumption of the great city of Paris. Bourdeaux is in the ſame manner the entrepôt of the wines which grow upon the banks of the Garonne, and of the rivers which run into it, one of the richeſt wine countries in the world, and which ſeems to produce the wine fitteſt for exportation, or beſt ſuited to the taſte of foreign nations. Such advantageous ſituations neceſſarily attract a great capital by the great employment which they afford it; and the employment of this capital is the cauſe of the induſtry of thoſe two cities. In the other parliament towns of France, very little more capital ſeems to be employed than what is neceſſary for ſupplying their own conſumption; that is, little more than the ſmalleſt capital which can be employed in them. The ſame thing may be ſaid of Paris, Madrid, and Vienna. Of thoſe three cities, Paris is by far the moſt induſtrious; but Paris itſelf is the principal market of all the manufactures eſtabliſhed at Paris, and its own conſumption is the principal object of all the trade which it carries on. London, Liſbon, and Copenhagen, are, perhaps, the only three cities in Europe, which are both the conſtant reſidence of a court, and can at the ſame time be conſidered as trading cities, or as cities which trade not only for their own conſumption, but for that of other cities and countries. The ſituation of all the three is extremely advantageous, and naturally fits

them

them to be the entrepôts of a great part of the goods deſtined for the conſumption of diſtant places. In a city where a great revenue is ſpent, to employ with advantage a capital for any other purpoſe than for ſupplying the conſumption of that city, is probably more difficult than in one in which the inferior ranks of people have no other maintenance but what they derive from the employment of ſuch a capital. The idleneſs of the greater part of the people who are maintained by the expence of revenue, corrupts, it is probable, the induſtry of thoſe who ought to be maintained by the employment of capital, and renders it leſs advantageous to employ a capital there than in other places. There was little trade or induſtry in Edinburgh before the union. When the Scotch parliament was no longer to be aſſembled in it, when it ceaſed to be the neceſſary reſidence of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland, it became a city of ſome trade and induſtry. It ſtill continues, however, to be the reſidence of the principal courts of juſtice in Scotland, of the boards of cuſtoms and exciſe, &c. A conſiderable revenue, therefore, ſtill continues to be ſpent in it. In trade and induſtry it is much inferior to Glaſgow, of which the inhabitants are chiefly maintained by the employment of capital. The inhabitants of a large village, it has ſometimes been obſerved, after having made conſiderable progreſs in manufactures, have become idle and poor, in conſequence of a great lord's having taken up his reſidence in their neighbourhood.

THE proportion between capital and revenue, therefore, ſeems every-where to regulate the proportion between induſtry and idleneſs. Wherever capital predominates, induſtry prevails: wherever revenue, idleneſs. Every increaſe or diminution of capital, therefore, naturally tends to increaſe or diminiſh the real quantity of induſtry, the number of productive hands, and

and consequently the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, the real wealth and revenue of all its inhabitants.

CAPITALS are increased by parsimony, and diminished by prodigality and misconduct.

WHATEVER a person saves from his revenue he adds to his capital, and either employs it himself in maintaining an additional number of productive hands, or enables some other person to do so, by lending it to him for an interest, that is, for a share of the profits. As the capital of an individual can be increased only by what he saves from his annual revenue or his annual gains, so the capital of a society, which is the same with that of all the individuals who compose it, can be increased only in the same manner.

PARSIMONY, and not industry, is the immediate cause of the increase of capital. Industry, indeed, provides the subject which parsimony accumulates. But whatever industry might acquire, if parsimony did not save and store up, the capital would never be the greater.

PARSIMONY, by increasing the fund which is destined for the maintenance of productive hands, tends to increase the number of those hands whose labour adds to the value of the subject upon which it is bestowed. It tends, therefore, to increase the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country. It puts into motion an additional quantity of industry, which gives an additional value to the annual produce.

WHAT is annually saved is as regularly consumed as what is annually spent, and nearly in the same time too; but it is consumed by a different set of people. That portion of his revenue which a rich man annually spends, is in most cases consumed by idle guests, and menial servants, who leave nothing behind

behind them in return for their conſumption. That portion which he annually ſaves, as for the ſake of the profit it is immediately employed as a capital, is conſumed in the ſame manner, and nearly in the ſame time too, but by a different ſet of people, by labourers, manufacturers, and artificers, who reproduce with a profit the value of their annual conſumption. His revenue, we ſhall ſuppoſe, is paid him in money. Had he ſpent the whole, the food, clothing, and lodging, which the whole could have purchaſed, would have been diſtributed among the former ſet of people. By ſaving a part of it, as that part is for the ſake of the profit immediately employed as a capital either by himſelf or by ſome other perſon, the food, clothing, and lodging, which may be purchaſed with it, are neceſſarily reſerved for the latter. The conſumption is the ſame, but the conſumers are different.

BY what a frugal man annually ſaves, he not only affords maintenance to an additional number of productive hands, for that or the enſuing year, but, like the founder of a public work-houſe, he eſtabliſhes as it were a perpetual fund for the maintenance of an equal number in all times to come. The perpetual allotment and deſtination of this fund, indeed, is not always guarded by any poſitive law, by any truſt-right or deed of mortmain. It is always guarded, however, by a very powerful principle, the plain and evident intereſt of every individual to whom any ſhare of it ſhall ever belong. No part of it can ever afterwards be employed to maintain any but productive hands, without an evident loſs to the perſon who thus perverts it from its proper deſtination.

THE prodigal perverts it in this manner. By not confining his expence within his income, he encroaches upon his capital. Like him who perverts the revenues of ſome pious foundation to profane purpoſes,

purpoſes, he pays the wages of idleneſs with thoſe funds which the frugality of his forefathers had, as it were, conſecrated to the maintenance of induſtry. By diminiſhing the funds deſtined for the employment of productive labour, he neceſſarily diminiſhes, ſo far as it depends upon him, the quantity of that labour which adds a value to the ſubject upon which it is beſtowed, and, conſequently, the value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the whole country, the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants. If the prodigality of ſome was not compenſated by the frugality of others, the conduct of every prodigal, by feeding the idle with the bread of the induſtrious, tends not only to beggar himſelf, but to impoveriſh his country.

THOUGH the expence of the prodigal ſhould be altogether in home-made, and no part of it in foreign commodities, its effect upon the productive funds of the ſociety would ſtill be the ſame. Every year there would ſtill be a certain quantity of food and clothing, which ought to have maintained productive, employed in maintaining unproductive hands. Every year, therefore, there would ſtill be ſome diminution in what would otherwiſe have been the value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country.

THIS expence, it may be ſaid indeed, not being in foreign goods, and not occaſioning any exportation of gold and ſilver, the ſame quantity of money would remain in the country as before. But if the quantity of food and clothing, which were thus conſumed by unproductive, had been diſtributed among productive hands, they would have reproduced, together with a profit, the full value of their conſumption. The ſame quantity of money would in this caſe equally have remained in the country, and there would beſides have been a reproduction of an equal value of

conſumable goods. There would have been two values inſtead of one.

THE ſame quantity of money, beſides, cannot long remain in any country in which the value of the annual produce diminiſhes. The ſole uſe of money is to circulate conſumable goods. By means of it, proviſions, materials, and finiſhed work, are bought and ſold, and diſtributed to their proper conſumers. The quantity of money, therefore, which can be annually employed in any country, muſt be determined by the value of the conſumable goods annually circulated within it. Theſe muſt conſiſt either in the immediate produce of the land and labour of the country itſelf, or in ſomething which had been purchaſed with ſome part of that produce. Their value, therefore, muſt diminiſh as the value of that produce diminiſhes, and along with it the quantity of money which can be employed in circulating them. But the money which by this annual diminution of produce is annually thrown out of domeſtic circulation, will not be allowed to lie idle. The intereſt of whoever poſſeſſes it, requires that it ſhould be employed. But having no employment at home, it will, in ſpite of all laws and prohibitions, be ſent abroad, and employed in purchaſing conſumable goods which may be of ſome uſe at home. Its annual exportation will in this manner continue for ſome time to add ſomething to the annual conſumption of the country beyond the value of its own annual produce. What in the days of its proſperity had been ſaved from that annual produce, and employed in purchaſing gold and ſilver, will contribute for ſome little time to ſupport its conſumption in adverſity. The exportation of gold and ſilver is, in this caſe, not the cauſe, but the effect of its declenſion, and may even, for ſome little time, alleviate the miſery of that declenſion.

THE quantity of money, on the contrary, muſt in every

every country naturally increaſe as the value of the annual produce increaſes. The value of the conſumable goods annually circulated within the ſociety being greater, will require a greater quantity of money to circulate them. A part of the increaſed produce, therefore, will naturally be employed in purchaſing, wherever it is to be had, the additional quantity of gold and ſilver neceſſary for circulating the reſt. The increaſe of thoſe metals will in this caſe be the effect, not the cauſe, of the public proſperity. Gold and ſilver are purchaſed every-where in the ſame manner. The food, clothing, and lodging, the revenue and maintenance of all thoſe whoſe labour or ſtock is employed in bringing them from the mine to the market, is the price paid for them in Peru as well as in England. The country which has this price to pay, will never be long without the quantity of thoſe metals which it has occaſion for; and no country will ever long retain a quantity which it has no occaſion for.

WHATEVER, therefore, we may imagine the real wealth and revenue of a country to conſiſt in, whether in the value of the annual produce of its land and labour, as plain reaſon ſeems to dictate; or in the quantity of the precious metals which circulate within it, as vulgar prejudices ſuppoſe; in either view of the matter, every prodigal appears to be a public enemy, and every frugal man a public benefactor.

THE effects of miſconduct are often the ſame as thoſe of prodigality. Every injudicious and unſucceſsful project in agriculture, mines, fiſheries, trade, or manufactures, tends in the ſame manner to diminiſh the funds deſtined for the maintenance of productive labour. In every ſuch project, though the capital is conſumed by productive hands only, yet, as by the injudicious manner in which they are employed, they do not reproduce the full value of the conſumption, there muſt always be ſome diminution in what would

would otherwiſe have been the productive funds of the ſociety.

IT can ſeldom happen, indeed, that the circumſtances of a great nation can be much affected either by the prodigality or miſconduct of individuals; the profuſion or imprudence of ſome, being always more than compenſated by the frugality and good conduct of others.

WITH regard to profuſion, the principle which prompts to expence, is the paſſion for preſent enjoyment; which, though ſometimes violent and very difficult to be reſtrained, is in general only momentary and occaſional. But the principle which prompts to ſave, is the deſire of bettering our condition, a deſire which, though generally calm and diſpaſſionate, comes with us from the womb, and never leaves us till we go into the grave. In the whole interval which ſeparates thoſe two moments, there is ſcarce perhaps a ſingle inſtant in which any man is ſo perfectly and completely ſatisfied with his ſituation, as to be without any wiſh of alteration or improvement of any kind. An augmentation of fortune is the means by which the greater part of men propoſe and wiſh to better their condition. It is the means the moſt vulgar and the moſt obvious; and the moſt likely way of augmenting their fortune, is to ſave and accumulate ſome part of what they acquire, either regularly and annually, or upon ſome extraordinary occaſions. Though the principle of expence, therefore, prevails in almoſt all men upon ſome occaſions, and in ſome men upon almoſt all occaſions, yet in the greater part of men, taking the whole courſe of their life at an average, the principle of frugality ſeems not only to predominate, but to predominate very greatly.

WITH regard to miſconduct, the number of prudent and ſucceſsful undertakings is every-where much greater than that of injudicious and unſucceſsful

cefsful ones. After all our complaints of the frequency of bankruptcies, the unhappy men who fall into this misfortune make but a very small part of the whole number engaged in trade, and all other sorts of busineſs; not much more perhaps than one in a thousand. Bankruptcy is perhaps the greateſt and moſt humiliating calamity which can befal an innocent man. The greater part of men, therefore, are ſufficiently careful to avoid it. Some indeed do not avoid it, as ſome do not avoid the gallows.

GREAT nations are never impoveriſhed by private, though they ſometimes are by public prodigality and miſconduct. The whole, or almoſt the whole public revenue, is in moſt countries employed in maintaining unproductive hands. Such are the people who compoſe a numerous and ſplendid court, a great eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, great fleets and armies, who in time of peace produce nothing, and in time of war acquire nothing which can compenſate the expence of maintaining them, even while the war laſts. Such people, as they themſelves produce nothing, are all maintained by the produce of other men's labour.—When multiplied, therefore, to an unneceſſary number, they may in a particular year conſume ſo great a ſhare of this produce, as not to leave a ſufficiency for maintaining the productive labourers, who ſhould reproduce it next year. The next year's produce, therefore, will be leſs than that of the foregoing, and if the ſame diſorder ſhould continue, that of the third year will be ſtill leſs than that of the ſecond. Thoſe unproductive hands, who ſhould be maintained by a part only of the ſpare revenue of the people, may conſume ſo great a ſhare of their whole revenue, and thereby oblige ſo great a number to encroach upon their capitals, upon the funds deſtined for the maintenance of productive labour, that all the frugality and good conduct of individuals may not be able to com-

penſate the waſte and degradation of produce occaſioned by this violent and forced encroachment.

THIS frugality and good conduct, however, is upon moſt occaſions, it appears from experience, ſufficient to compenſate, not only the private prodigality and miſconduct of individuals, but the public extravagance of government. The uniform, conſtant, and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition, the principle from which public and national, as well as private opulence is originally derived, is frequently powerful enough to maintain the natural progreſs of things toward improvement, in ſpite both of the extravagance of government, and of the greateſt errors of adminiſtration. Like the unknown principle of animal life, it frequently reſtores health and vigour to the conſtitution, in ſpite, not only of the diſeaſe, but of the abſurd preſcriptions of the doctor.

THE annual produce of the land and labour of any nation can be increaſed in its value by no other means, but by increaſing either the number of its productive labourers, or the productive powers of thoſe labourers who had before been employed. The number of its productive labourers, it is evident, can never be much increaſed, but in conſequence of an increaſe of capital, or of the funds deſtined for maintaining them. The productive powers of the ſame number of labourers cannot be increaſed, but in conſequence either of ſome addition and improvement to thoſe machines and inſtruments which facilitate and abridge labour; or of a more proper diviſion and diſtribution of employment. In either caſe an additional capital is almoſt always required. It is by means of an additional capital only, that the undertaker of any work can either provide his workmen with better machinery, or make a more proper diſtribution of employment among them. When the work to be done conſiſts of a number of parts, to keep

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every man constantly employed in one way, requires a much greater capital than where every man is occasionally employed in every different part of the work. When we compare, therefore, the state of a nation at two different periods, and find, that the annual produce of its land and labour is evidently greater at the latter than at the former, that its lands are better cultivated, its manufactures more numerous and more flourishing, and its trade more extensive, we may be assured that its capital must have increased during the interval between those two periods, and that more must have been added to it by the good conduct of some, than had been taken from it either by the private misconduct of others, or by the public extravagance of government. But we shall find this to have been the case of almost all nations, in all tolerably quiet and peaceable times, even of those who have not enjoyed the most prudent and parsimonious governments. To form a right judgment of it, indeed, we must compare the state of the country at periods somewhat distant from one another. The progress is frequently so gradual, that, at near periods, the improvement is not only not sensible, but from the declension either of certain branches of industry, or of certain districts of the country, things which sometimes happen though the country in general be in great prosperity, there frequently arises a suspicion, that the riches and industry of the whole are decaying.

THE annual produce of the land and labour of England, for example, is certainly much greater than it was, a little more than a century ago, at the restoration of Charles II. Though, at present, few people, I believe, doubt of this, yet during this period, five years have seldom passed away in which some book or pamphlet has not been published, written too with such abilities as to gain some authority with the public,

public, and pretending to demonſtrate that the wealth of the nation was faſt declining, that the country was depopulated, agriculture neglected, manufactures decaying, and trade undone. Nor have theſe publications been all party pamphlets, the wretched offſpring of falſehood and venality. Many of them have been written by very candid and very intelligent people; who wrote nothing but what they believed, and for no other reaſon but becauſe they believed it.

THE annual produce of the land and labour of England again, was certainly much greater at the reſtoration, than we can ſuppoſe it to have been about an hundred years before, at the acceſſion of Elizabeth. At this period too, we have all reaſon to believe, the country was much more advanced in improvement, than it had been about a century before, towards the cloſe of the diſſentions between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. Even then it was, probably, in a better condition than it had been at the Norman conqueſt, and at the Norman conqueſt, than during the confuſion of the Saxon Heptarchy. Even at this early period, it was certainly a more improved country that at the invaſion of Julius Cæſar, when its inhabitants were nearly in the ſame ſtate with the ſavages in North America.

IN each of thoſe periods, however, there was, not only much private and public profuſion, many expenſive and unneceſſary wars, great perverſion of the annual produce from maintaining productive to maintain unproductive hands; but ſometimes, in the confuſion of civil diſcord, ſuch abſolute waſte and deſtruction of ſtock, as might be ſuppoſed, not only to retard, as it certainly did, the natural accumulation of riches, but to have left the country, at the end of the period, poorer than at the beginning. Thus, in the happieſt and moſt fortunate period of them all, that which has paſſed ſince the reſtoration, how ma-

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ny disorders and misfortunes have occurred, which, could they have been foreseen, not only the impoverishment, but the total ruin of the country would have been expected from them? The fire and the plague of London, the two Dutch wars, the disorders of the revolution, the war in Ireland, the four expensive French wars of 1688, 1702, 1742, and 1756, together with the two rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In the course of the four French wars, the nation has contracted more than a hundred and forty-five millions of debt, over and above all the other extraordinary annual expence which they occasioned, so that the whole cannot be computed at less than two hundred millions. So great a share of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, has, since the revolution, been employed upon different occasions, in maintaining an extraordinary number of unproductive hands. But had not those wars given this particular direction to so large a capital, the greater part of it would naturally have been employed in maintaining productive hands, whose labour would have replaced, with a profit, the whole value of their consumption. The value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, would have been considerably increased by it every year, and every year's increase would have augmented still more that of the following year. More houses would have been built, more lands would have been improved, and those which had been improved before would have been better cultivated, more manufactures would have been established, and those which had been established before would have been more extended; and to what height the real wealth and revenue of the country might, by this time, have been raised, it is not perhaps very easy even to imagine.

But though the profusion of government must, undoubtedly, have retarded the natural progress of

England

England towards wealth and improvement, it has not been able to ſtop it. The annual produce of its land and labour is, undoubtedly, much greater at preſent than it was either at the reſtoration or at the revolution. The capital, therefore, annually employed in cultivating this land, and in maintaining this labour, muſt likewiſe be much greater. In the midſt of all the exactions of government, this capital has been ſilently and gradually accumulated by the private frugality and good conduct of individuals, by their univerſal, continual, and uninterrupted effort to better their own condition. It is this effort, protected by law and allowed by liberty to exert itſelf in the manner that is moſt advantageous, which has maintained the progreſs of England towards opulence and improvement in almoſt all former times, and which, it is to be hoped, will do ſo in all future times. England, however, as it has never been bleſſed with a very parſimonious government, ſo parſimony has at no time been the characteriſtical virtue of its inhabitants. It is the higheſt impertinence and preſumption, therefore, in kings and miniſters, to pretend to watch over the œconomy of private people, and to reſtrain their expence, either by ſumptuary laws, or by prohibiting the importation of foreign luxuries. They are themſelves always, and without any exception, the greateſt ſpendthrifts in the ſociety. Let them look well after their own expence, and they may ſafely truſt private people with theirs. If their own extravagance does not ruin the ſtate, that of their ſubjects never will.

As frugality increaſes, and prodigality diminiſhes the public capital, ſo the conduct of thoſe whoſe expence juſt equals their revenue, without either accumulating or encroaching, neither increaſes nor diminiſhes it. Some modes of expence, however, ſeem

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to contribute more to the growth of public opulence than others.

THE revenue of an individual may be ſpent, either in things which are conſumed immediately, and in which one day's expence can neither alleviate nor ſupport that of another; or it may be ſpent in things more durable, which can therefore be accumulated, and in which every day's expence may, as he chuſes, either alleviate or ſupport and heighten the effect of that of the following day. A man of fortune, for example, may either ſpend his fortune in a profuſe and ſumptuous table, and in maintaining a great number of menial ſervants, and a multitude of dogs and horſes; or contenting himſelf with a frugal table and few attendants, he may lay out the greater part of it in adorning his houſe or his country villa, in uſeful or ornamental buildings, in uſeful or ornamental furniture, in collecting books, ſtatues, pictures; or in things more frivolous, jewels, baubles, ingenious trinkets of different kinds; or, what is moſt trifling of all, in amaſſing a great wardrobe of fine clothes, like the favourite and miniſter of a great prince who died a few years ago. Were two men of equal fortune to ſpend their revenue, the one chiefly in the one way, the other in the other, the magnificence of the perſon whoſe expence had been chiefly in durable commodities, would be continually increaſing, every day's expence contributing ſomething to ſupport and heighten the effect of that of the following day: that of the other, on the contrary, would be no greater at the end of the period than at the beginning. The former too would, at the end of the period, be the richer man of the two. He would have a ſtock of goods of ſome kind or other, which, though it might not be worth all that it coſt, would always be worth ſomething. No trace or veſtige of the expence of the latter would remain, and the effects of ten or twenty

years

years profusion would be as completely annihilated as if they had never existed.

As the one mode of expence is more favourable than the other to the opulence of an individual, so is it likewise to that of a nation. The houses, the furniture, the clothing of the rich, in a little time, become useful to the inferior and middling ranks of people. They are able to purchase them when their superiors grow weary of them, and the general accommodation of the whole people is thus gradually improved, when this mode of expence becomes universal among men of fortune. In countries which have long been rich, you will frequently find the inferior ranks of people in possession both of houses and furniture perfectly good and entire, but of which neither the one could have been built nor the other have been made for their use. What was formerly a seat of the family of Seymour, is now an inn upon the Bath road. The marriage-bed of James the First of Great Britain, which his Queen brought with her from Denmark, as a present fit for a sovereign to make to a sovereign, was, a few years ago, the ornament of an alehouse at Dunfermline. In some ancient cities, which either have been long stationary, or have gone somewhat to decay, you will sometimes scarce find a single house which could have been built for its present inhabitants. If you go into those houses too, you will frequently find many excellent, though antiquated pieces of furniture, which are still very fit for use, and which could as little have been made for them. Noble palaces, magnificent villas, great collections of books, statues, pictures, and other curiosities, are frequently both an ornament and an honour, not only to the neighbourhood, but to the whole country to which they belong. Versailles is an ornament and an honour to France, Stowe and Wilton to England. Italy still continues to command some sort of veneration

tion by the number of monuments of this kind which it poſſeſſes, though the wealth which produced them has decayed, and though the genius which planned them ſeems to be extinguiſhed, perhaps from not having the ſame employment.

THE expence too, which is laid out in durable commodities, is favourable, not only to accumulation, but to frugality. If a perſon ſhould at any time exceed in it, he can eaſily reform without expoſing himſelf to the cenſure of the public. To reduce greatly the number of his ſervants, to reform his table from great profuſion to great frugality, to lay down his equipage after he has ſet it up, are changes which cannot eſcape the obſervation of his neighbours, and which are ſuppoſed to imply ſome acknowledgment of preceding bad conduct. Few, therefore, of thoſe who have once been ſo unfortunate as to launch out too far into this ſort of expence, have afterwards the courage to reform, till ruin and bankruptcy oblige them. But if a perſon has, at any time, been at too great an expence in building, in furniture, in books or pictures, no imprudence can be inferred from his changing his conduct. Theſe are things in which further expence is frequently rendered unneceſſary by former expence; and when a perſon ſtops ſhort, he appears to do ſo, not becauſe he has exceeded his fortune, but becauſe he has ſatisfied his fancy.

THE expence, beſides, that is laid out in durable commodities, gives maintenance commonly, to a greater number of people, than that which is employed in the moſt profuſe hoſpitality. Of two or three hundred weight of proviſions, which may ſometimes be ſerved up at a great feſtival, one-half, perhaps, is thrown to the dunghill, and there is always a great deal waſted and abuſed. But if the expence of this entertainment had been employed in ſetting to work maſons, carpenters, upholſterers, mechanics, &c. a

quantity of provisions, of equal value, would have been distributed among a still greater number of people, who would have bought them in penny-worths and pound weights, and not have lost or thrown away a single ounce of them. In the one way, besides, this expence maintains productive, in the other unproductive hands. In the one way, therefore, it increases, in the other it does not increase, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country.

I WOULD not, however, by all this be understood to mean that the one species of expence always betokens a more liberal or generous spirit than the other. When a man of fortune spends his revenue chiefly in hospitality, he shares the greater part of it with his friends and companions; but when he employs it in purchasing such durable commodities, he often spends the whole upon his own person, and gives nothing to any body without an equivalent. The latter species of expence, therefore, especially when directed towards frivolous objects, the little ornaments of dress and furniture, jewels, trinkets, gewgaws, frequently indicates, not only a trifling, but a base and selfish disposition. All that I mean is, that the one sort of expence, as it always occasions some accumulation of valuable commodities, as it is more favourable to private frugality, and, consequently, to the increase of the public capital, and as it maintains productive, rather than unproductive hands, conduces more than the other to the growth of public opulence.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Stock lent at Intereſt.

THE ſtock which is lent at intereſt is always conſidered as a capital by the lender. He expects that in due time it is to be reſtored to him, and that in the mean time the borrower is to pay him a certain annual rent for the uſe of it. The borrower may uſe it either as a capital, or as a ſtock reſerved for immediate conſumption. If he uſes it as a capital, he employs it in the maintenance of productive labourers, who reproduce the value with a profit. He can, in this caſe, both reſtore the capital and pay the intereſt, without alienating or encroaching upon any other ſource of revenue. If he uſes it as a ſtock reſerved for immediate conſumption, he acts the part of a prodigal, and diſſipates in the maintenance of the idle, what was deſtined for the ſupport of the induſtrious. He can, in this caſe, neither reſtore the capital nor pay the intereſt, without either alienating or encroaching upon ſome other ſource of revenue, ſuch as the property or the rent of land.

THE ſtock which is lent at intereſt is, no doubt, occaſionally employed in both theſe ways, but in the former much more frequently than in the latter. The man who borrows in order to ſpend will ſoon be ruined, and he who lends to him will generally have occaſion to repent of his folly. To borrow or to lend for ſuch a purpoſe, therefore, is in all caſes, where groſs uſury is out of the queſtion, contrary to the intereſt of both parties; and though it no doubt happens ſometimes that people do both the one and the other, yet, from the regard that all men have for their own intereſt, we may be aſſured, that it cannot happen ſo very

very frequently as we are apt to imagine. Ask any rich man of common prudence, to which of the two sorts of people he has lent the greater part of his stock, to those who, he thinks, will employ it profitably, or to those who will spend it idly, and he will laugh at you for proposing the question. Even among borrowers, therefore, not the people in the world most famous for frugality, the number of the frugal and industrious surpasses considerably that of the prodigal and idle.

THE only people to whom stock is commonly lent, without their being expected to make any very profitable use of it, are country gentlemen who borrow upon mortgage. Even they scarce ever borrow merely to spend. What they borrow, one may say, is commonly spent before they borrow it. They have generally consumed so great a quantity of goods, advanced to them upon credit by shopkeepers and tradesmen, that they find it necessary to borrow at interest in order to pay the debt. The capital borrowed replaces the capitals of those shopkeepers and tradesmen, which the country gentlemen could not have replaced from the rents of their estates. It is not properly borrowed in order to be spent, but in order to replace a capital which had been spent before.

ALMOST all loans at interest are made in money, either of paper, or of gold and silver. But what the borrower really wants, and what the lender really supplies him with, is not the money, but the money's worth, or the goods which it can purchase. If he wants it as a stock for immediate consumption, it is those goods only which he can place in that stock. If he wants it as a capital for employing industry, it is from those goods only that the industrious can be furnished with the tools, materials, and maintenance, necessary for carrying on their work. By means of the loan, the lender, as it were, assigns to the borrower

rower his right to a certain portion of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to be employed as the borrower pleaſes.

THE quantity of ſtock, therefore, or, as it is commonly expreſſed, of money which can be lent at intereſt in any country, is not regulated by the value of the money, whether paper or coin, which ſerves as the inſtrument of the different loans made in that country, but by the value of that part of the annual produce which, as ſoon as it comes either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, is deſtined not only for replacing a capital, but ſuch a capital as the owner does not care to be at the trouble of employing himſelf. As ſuch capitals are commonly lent out and paid back in money, they conſtitute what is called the monied intereſt. It is diſtinct, not only from the landed, but from the trading and manufacturing intereſts, as in theſe laſt the owners themſelves employ their own capitals. Even in the monied intereſt, however, the money is, as it were, but the deed of the aſſignment, which conveys from one hand to another thoſe capitals which the owners do not care to employ themſelves. Thoſe capitals may be greater in almoſt any proportion, than the amount of the money which ſerves as the inſtrument of their conveyance; the ſame pieces of money ſucceſſively ſerving for many different loans, as well as for many different purchaſes. A, for example, lends to W a thouſand pounds, with which W immediately purchaſes of B a thouſand pounds worth of goods. B having no occaſion for the money himſelf, lends the identical pieces to X, with which X immediately purchaſes of C another thouſand pounds worth of goods. C in the ſame manner, and for the ſame reaſon, lends them to Y, who again purchaſes goods with them of D. In this manner the ſame pieces, either of coin or of paper, may, in

the courſe of a few days, ſerve as the inſtrument of three different loans, and of three different purchaſes, each of which is, in value, equal to the whole amount of thoſe pieces. What the three monied men A, B, and C, aſſign to the three borrowers, W, X, Y, is the power of making thoſe purchaſes. In this power conſiſts both the value and the uſe of the loans. The ſtock lent by the three monied men, is equal to the value of the goods which can be purchaſed with it, and is three times greater than that of the money with which the purchaſes are made. Thoſe loans, however, may be all perfectly well ſecured, the goods purchaſed by the different debtors being ſo employed, as, in due time, to bring back, with a profit, an equal value either of coin or of paper. And as the ſame pieces of money can thus ſerve as the inſtrument of different loans to three, or for the ſame reaſon, to thirty times their value, ſo they may likewiſe ſucceſſively ſerve as the inſtrument of repayment.

A CAPITAL lent at intereſt may, in this manner, be conſidered as an aſſignment from the lender to the borrower of a certain conſiderable portion of the annual produce; upon condition that the borrower in return ſhall, during the continuance of the loan, annually aſſign to the lender a ſmall portion, called the intereſt; and at the end of it a portion equally conſiderable with that which had originally been aſſigned to him, called the repayment. Though money, either coin or paper, ſerves generally as the deed of aſſignment both to the ſmaller, and to the more conſiderable portion, it is itſelf altogether different from what is aſſigned by it.

IN proportion as that ſhare of the annual produce which, as ſoon as it comes either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, is deſtined for replacing a capital, increaſes in any country,

try, what is called the monied intereſt naturally increaſes with it. The increaſe of thoſe particular capitals from which the owners wiſh to derive a revenue, without being at the trouble of employing them themſelves, naturally accompanies the general increaſe of capitals; or, in other words, as ſtock increaſes, the quantity of ſtock to be lent at intereſt grows gradually greater and greater.

As the quantity of ſtock to be lent at intereſt increaſes, the intereſt, or the price which muſt be paid for the uſe of that ſtock, neceſſarily diminiſhes, not only from thoſe general cauſes which make the market price of things commonly diminiſh as their quantity increaſes, but from other cauſes which are peculiar to this particular caſe. As capitals increaſe in any country, the profits which can be made by employing them neceſſarily diminiſh. It becomes gradually more and more difficult to find within the country a profitable method of employing any new capital. There ariſes in conſequence a competition between different capitals, the owner of one endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of that employment which is occupied by another. But upon moſt occaſions he can hope to juſtle that other out of this employment, by no other means but by dealing upon more reaſonable terms. He muſt not only ſell what he deals in ſomewhat cheaper, but in order to get it to ſell, he muſt ſometimes too buy it dearer. The demand for productive labour, by the increaſe of the funds which are deſtined for maintaining it, grows every day greater and greater. Labourers eaſily find employment, but the owners of capitals find it difficult to get labourers to employ. Their competition raiſes the wages of labour, and ſinks the profits of ſtock. But when the profits which can be made by the uſe of a capital are in this manner diminiſhed, as it were, at both ends, the price which can be paid for the uſe of

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it, that is, the rate of intereſt, muſt neceſſarily be diminiſhed with them.

MR. Locke, Mr. Law, and Mr. Monteſquieu, as well as many other writers, ſeem to have imagined that the increaſe of the quantity of gold and ſilver, in conſequence of the diſcovery of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, was the real cauſe of the lowering of the rate of intereſt through the greater part of Europe. Thoſe metals, they ſay, having become of leſs value themſelves, the uſe of any particular portion of them neceſſarily became of leſs value too, and conſequently the price which could be paid for it. This notion, which at firſt ſight ſeems ſo plauſible, has been ſo fully expoſed by Mr. Hume, that it is, perhaps, unneceſſary to ſay any thing more about it. The following very ſhort and plain argument, however, may ſerve to explain more diſtinctly the fallacy which ſeems to have miſled thoſe gentlemen.

BEFORE the diſcovery of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, ten per cent. ſeems to have been the common rate of intereſt thro' the greater part of Europe. It has ſince that time in different countries ſunk to ſix, five, four, and three per cent. Let us ſuppoſe that in every particular country the value of ſilver has ſunk preciſely in the ſame proportion as the rate of intereſt; and that in thoſe countries, for example, where intereſt has been reduced from ten to five per cent., the ſame quantity of ſilver can now purchaſe juſt half the quantity of goods which it could have purchaſed before. This ſuppoſition will not, I believe, be found any-where agreeable to the truth, but it is the moſt favourable to the opinion which we are going to examine; and even upon this ſuppoſition it is utterly impoſſible that the lowering of the value of ſilver could have the ſmalleſt tendency to lower the rate of intereſt. If a hundred pounds are in thoſe countries now of no more value than fifty pounds were

then,

then, ten pounds must now be of no more value than five pounds were then. Whatever were the causes which lowered the value of the capital, the same must necessarily have lowered that of the interest, and exactly in the same proportion. The proportion between the value of the capital and that of the interest, must have remained the same, though the rate had never been altered. By altering the rate, on the contrary, the proportion between those two values is necessarily altered. If a hundred pounds now are worth no more than fifty were then, five pounds now can be worth no more than two pounds ten shillings were then. By reducing the rate of interest therefore, from ten to five per cent., we give for the use of a capital, which is supposed to be equal to one-half of its former value, an interest which is equal to one fourth only of the value of the former interest.

ANY increase in the quantity of silver, while that of the commodities circulated by means of it remained the same, could have no other effect than to diminish the value of that metal. The nominal value of all sorts of goods would be greater, but their real value would be precisely the same as before. They would be exchanged for a greater number of pieces of silver; but the quantity of labour which they could command, the number of people whom they could maintain and employ, would be precisely the same. The capital of the country would be the same, though a greater number of pieces might be requisite for conveying any equal portion of it from one hand to another. The deeds of assignment, like the conveyances of a verbose attorney, would be more cumbersome, but the thing assigned would be precisely the same as before, and could produce only the same effects. The funds for maintaining productive labour being the same, the demand for it would be the same. Its price or wages, therefore, though nominally greater, would really

really be the same. They would be paid in a greater number of pieces of silver; but they would purchase only the same quantity of goods. The profits of stock would be the same both nominally and really. The wages of labour are commonly computed by the quantity of silver which is paid to the labourer. When that is increased, therefore, his wages appear increased, though they may sometimes be no greater than before. But the profits of stock are not computed by the number of pieces of silver with which they are paid, but by the proportion which those pieces bear to the whole capital employed. Thus in a particular country five shillings a week are said to be the common wages of labour, and ten per cent. the common profits of stock. But the whole capital of the country being the same as before, the competition between the different capitals of individuals into which it was divided would likewise be the same. They would all trade with the same advantages and disadvantages. The common proportion between capital and profit, therefore, would be the same, and consequently the common interest of money; what can commonly be given for the use of money being necessarily regulated by what can commonly be made by the use of it.

ANY increase in the quantity of commodities annually circulated within the country, while that of the money which circulated them remained the same, would, on the contrary, produce many other important effects, besides that of raising the value of the money. The capital of the country, though it might nominally be the same, would really be augmented. It might continue to be expressed by the same quantity of money, but it would command a greater quantity of labour. The quantity of productive labour which it could maintain and employ would be increased, and consequently the demand for that labour. Its

wages

wages would naturally rise with the demand, and yet might appear to sink. They might be paid with a smaller quantity of money, but that smaller quantity might purchase a greater quantity of goods than a greater had done before. The profits of stock would be diminished both really and in appearance. The whole capital of the country being augmented, the competition between the different capitals of which it was composed, would naturally be augmented along with it. The owners of those particular capitals would be obliged to content themselves with a smaller proportion of the produce of that labour which their respective capitals employed. The interest of money, keeping pace always with the profits of stock, might in this manner, be greatly diminished, though the value of money, or the quantity of goods which any particular sum could purchase, was greatly augmented.

In some countries the interest of money has been prohibited by law. But as something can everywhere be made by the use of money, something ought every-where to be paid for the use of it. This regulation, instead of preventing, has been found from experience to increase the evil of usury, the debtor being obliged to pay, not only for the use of the money, but for the risk which his creditor runs by accepting a compensation for that use. He is obliged, if one may say so, to insure his creditor from the penalties of usury.

In countries where interest is permitted, the law, in order to prevent the extortion of usury, generally fixes the highest rate which can be taken without incurring a penalty. This rate ought always to be somewhat above the lowest market price, or the price which is commonly paid for the use of money by those who can give the most undoubted security. If this legal rate should be fixed below the lowest market rate, the

effects

effects of this fixation must be nearly the same as those of a total prohibition of interest. The creditor will not lend his money for less than the use of it is worth, and the debtor must pay him for the risk which he runs by accepting the full value of that use. If it is fixed precisely at the lowest market price, it ruins with honest people, who respect the laws of their country, the credit of all those who cannot give the very best security, and obliges them to have recourse to exorbitant usurers. In a country, such as Great Britain, where money is lent to government at three per cent. and to private people upon good security at four, and four and a half, the present legal rate, five per cent. is, perhaps, as proper as any.

THE legal rate, it is to be observed, though it ought to be somewhat above, ought not to be much above the lowest market rate. If the legal rate of interest in Great Britain, for example, was fixed so high as eight eight or ten per cent., the greater part of the money which was to be lent, would be lent to prodigals and projectors, who alone would be willing to give this high interest. Sober people, who will give for the use of money no more than a part of what they are likely to make by the use of it, would not venture into the competition. A great part of the capital of the country would thus be kept out of the hands which were most likely to make a profitable and advantageous use of it, and thrown into those which were most likely to waste and destroy it. Where the legal rate of interest, on the contrary, is fixed but a very little above the lowest market rate, sober people are universally preferred, as borrowers, to prodigals and projectors. The person who lends money gets nearly as much interest from the former as he dares to take from the latter, and his money is much safer in the hands of the one set of people, than in those of the other. A great part of the capital of the country

country is thus thrown into the hands in which it is moſt likely to be employed with advantage.

No law can reduce the common rate of intereſt below the loweſt ordinary market rate at the time when that law is made. Notwithſtanding the edict of 1766, by which the French king attempted to reduce the rate of intereſt from five to four per cent., money continued to be lent in France at five per cent., the law being evaded in ſeveral different ways.

THE ordinary market price of land, it is to be obſerved, depends every-where upon the ordinary market rate of intereſt. The perſon who has a capital from which he wiſhes to derive a revenue, without taking the trouble to employ it himſelf, deliberates whether he ſhould buy land with it, or lend it out at intereſt. The ſuperior ſecurity of land, together with ſome other advantages which almoſt everywhere attend upon this ſpecies of property, will generally diſpoſe him to content himſelf with a ſmaller revenue from land, than what he might have by lending out his money at intereſt. Theſe advantages are ſufficient to compenſate a certain difference of revenue; but they will compenſate a certain difference only; and if the rent of land ſhould fall ſhort of the intereſt of money by a greater difference, nobody would buy land, which would ſoon reduce its ordinary price. On the contrary, if the advantages ſhould much more than compenſate the difference, every body would buy land, which again would ſoon raiſe its ordinary price. When intereſt was at ten per cent., land was commonly ſold for ten and twelve years purchaſe. As intereſt ſunk to ſix, five, and four per cent., the price of land roſe to twenty, five and twenty, and thirty years purchaſe. The market rate of intereſt is higher in France than in England; and the common price of land is lower. In England it

commonly ſells at thirty; in France at twenty years purchaſe.

CHAP. V.

Of the different Employment of Capitals.

THOUGH all capitals are deſtined for the maintenance of productive labour only, yet the quantity of that labour, which equal capitals are capable of putting into motion, varies extremely according to the diverſity of their employment; as does likewiſe the value which that employment adds to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country.

A CAPITAL may be employed in four different ways; either, firſt, in procuring the rude produce annually required for the uſe and conſumption of the ſociety; or, ſecondly, in manufacturing and preparing that rude produce for immediate uſe and conſumption; or, thirdly, in tranſporting either the rude or manufactured produce from the places where they abound to thoſe where they are wanted; or, laſtly, in dividing particular portions of either into ſuch ſmall parcels as ſuit the occaſional demands of thoſe who want them. In the firſt way are employed the capitals of all thoſe who undertake the improvement or cultivation of lands, mines, or fiſheries; in the ſecond, thoſe of all maſter manufacturers; in the third, thoſe of all wholeſale merchants; and in the fourth, thoſe of all retailers. It is difficult to conceive that a capital ſhould be employed in any way which may not be claſſed under ſome one or other of thoſe four.

EACH of thoſe four methods of employing a capital is eſſentially neceſſary either to the exiſtence or extenſion of the other three, or to the general convenience of the ſociety.

UNLESS

UNLESS a capital was employed in furnishing rude produce to a certain degree of abundance, neither manufactures nor trade of any kind could exist.

UNLESS a capital was employed in manufacturing that part of the rude produce which requires a good deal of preparation before it can be fit for use and consumption, it either would never be produced, because there could be no demand for it; or, if it was produced spontaneously, it would be of no value in exchange, and could add nothing to the wealth of the society.

UNLESS a capital was employed in transporting, either the rude or manufactured produce, from the places where it abounds to those where it is wanted, no more of either could be produced than was necessary for the consumption of the neighbourhood. The capital of the merchant exchanges the surplus produce of one place for that of another, and thus encourages the industry and increases the enjoyments of both.

UNLESS a capital was employed in breaking and dividing certain portions either of the rude or manufactured produce, into such small parcels as suit the occasional demands of those who want them, every man would be obliged to purchase a greater quantity of the goods he wanted, than his immediate occasions required. If there was no such trade as a butcher, for example, every man would be obliged to purchase a whole ox or a whole sheep at a time. This would generally be inconvenient to the rich, and much more so to the poor. If a poor workman was obliged to purchase a month's or six months provisions at a time, a great part of the stock which he employs as a capital in the instruments of his trade, or in the furniture of his shop, and which yields him a revenue, he would be forced to place in that part of his stock which is reserved for immediate consumption, and which yields him no revenue. Nothing can be more convenient for

for ſuch a perſon than to be able to purchaſe his ſubſiſtence from day to day, or even from hour to hour, as he wants it. He is thereby enabled to employ almoſt his whole ſtock as a capital. He is thus enabled to furniſh work to a greater value, and the profit, which he makes by it in this way, much more than compenſates the additional price which the profit of the retailer impoſes upon the goods. The prejudices of ſome political writers againſt ſhopkeepers and tradeſmen, are altogether without foundation. So far is it from being neceſſary, either to tax them, or to reſtrict their numbers, that they can never be multiplied ſo as to hurt the public, though they may ſo as to hurt one another. The quantity of grocery goods, which can be ſold in a particular town, for example, is limited by the demand of that town and its neighbourhood. The capital, therefore, which can be employed in the grocery trade cannot exceed what is ſufficient to purchaſe that quantity. If this capital is divided between two different grocers, their competition will tend to make both of them ſell cheaper, than if it were in the hands of one only; and if it were divided among twenty, their competition would be juſt ſo much the greater, and the chance of their combining together, in order to raiſe the price, juſt ſo much the leſs. Their competition might perhaps ruin ſome of themſelves; but to take care of this is the buſineſs of the parties concerned, and it may ſafely be truſted to their diſcretion. It can never hurt either the conſumer, or the producer; on the contrary, it muſt tend to make the retailers both ſell cheaper and buy dearer, than if the whole trade was monopolized by one or two perſons. Some of them, perhaps, may ſometimes decoy a weak cuſtomer to buy what he has no occaſion for. This evil, however, is of too little importance to deſerve the public attention, nor would it neceſſarily be prevented

vented by reſtricting their numbers. It is not the multitude of ale-houſes, to give the moſt ſuſpicious example, that occaſions a general diſpoſition to drunkenneſs among the common people; but that diſpoſition ariſing from other cauſes neceſſarily gives employment to a multitude of ale-houſes.

THE perſons whoſe capitals are employed in any of thoſe four ways are themſelves productive labourers. Their labour, when properly directed, fixes and realizes itſelf in the ſubject or vendible commodity upon which it is beſtowed, and generally adds to its price the value at leaſt of their own maintenance and conſumption. The profits of the farmer, of the manufacturer, of the merchant, and retailer, are all drawn from the price of the goods which the two firſt produce, and the two laſt buy and ſell. Equal capitals, however, employed in each of thoſe four different ways, will immediately put into motion very different quantities of productive labour, and augment too in very different proportions the value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the ſociety to which they belong.

THE capital of the retailer replaces, together with its profits, that of the merchant of whom he purchaſes goods, and thereby enables him to continue his buſineſs. The retailer himſelf is the only productive labourer whom it immediately employs. In his profits, conſiſts the whole value which its employment adds to the annual produce of the land and labour of the ſociety.

THE capital of the wholeſale merchant replaces, together with their profits, the capitals of the farmers and manufacturers of whom he purchaſes the rude and manufactured produce which he deals in, and thereby enables them to continue their reſpective trades. It is by this ſervice chiefly that he contributes indirectly to ſupport the productive labour of

the ſociety, and to increaſe the value of its annual produce. His capital employs too the ſailors and carriers who tranſport his goods from one place to another, and it augments the price of thoſe goods by the value, not only of his profits, but of their wages. This is all the productive labour which it immediately puts into motion, and all the value which it immediately adds to the annual produce. Its operation in both theſe reſpects is a good deal ſuperior to that of the capital of the retailer.

PART of the capital of the maſter manufacturer is employed as a fixed capital in the inſtruments of his trade, and replaces, together with its profits, that of ſome other artificer of whom he purchaſes them. Part of his circulating capital is employed in purchaſing materials, and replaces, with their profits, the capitals of the farmers and miners of whom he purchaſes them. But a great part of it is always, either annually, or in a much ſhorter period, diſtributed among the different workmen whom he employs. It augments the value of thoſe materials by their wages, and by their maſters profits upon the whole ſtock of wages, materials, and inſtruments of trade employed in the buſineſs. It puts immediately into motion, therefore, a much greater quantity of productive labour, and adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the ſociety, than an equal capital in the hands of any wholeſale merchant.

No equal capital puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than that of the farmer. Not only his labouring ſervants, but his labouring cattle, are productive labourers. In agriculture too, nature labours along with man; and though her labour coſts no expence, its produce has its value, as well as that of the moſt expenſive workmen. The moſt important operations of agriculture ſeem intended,

ded, not so much to increase, though they do that too, as to direct the fertility of nature towards the production of the plants most profitable to man. A field overgrown with briars and brambles may frequently produce as great a quantity of vegetables as the best cultivated vineyard or corn field. Planting and tillage frequently regulate more than they animate the active fertility of nature; and after all their labour, a great part of the work always remains to be done by her. The labourers and labouring cattle, therefore, employed in agriculture, not only occasion, like the workmen in manufactures, the reproduction of a value equal to their own consumption, or to the capital which employs them, together with its owners profits; but of a much greater value. Over and above the capital of the farmer and all its profits, they regularly occasion the reproduction of the rent of the landlord. This rent may be considered as the produce of those powers of nature, the use of which the landlord lends to the farmer. It is greater or smaller according to the supposed extent of those powers, or in other words, according to the supposed natural or improved fertility of the land. It is the work of nature which remains after deducting or compensating every thing which can be regarded as the work of man. It is seldom less than a fourth, and frequently more than a third of the whole produce. No equal quantity of productive labour employed in manufactures can ever occasion so great a reproduction. In them nature does nothing; man does all; and the reproduction must always be in proportion to the strength of the agents that occasion it. The capital employed in agriculture, therefore, not only puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than any equal capital employed in manufactures, but in proportion too to the quantity of productive labour which it employs, it adds a much

much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants. Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed, it is by far the most advantageous to the society.

THE capitals employed in the agriculture and in the retail trade of any society, must always reside within that society. Their employment is confined almost to a precise spot, to the farm, and to the shop of the retailer. They must generally too, though there are some exceptions to this, belong to resident members of the society.

THE capital of a wholesale merchant, on the contrary, seems to have no fixed or necessary residence any-where, but may wander about from place to place, according as it can either buy cheap or sell dear.

THE capital of the manufacturer must no doubt reside where the manufacture is carried on; but where this shall be is not always necessarily determined. It may frequently be at a great distance both rom the place where the materials grow, and from that where the complete manufacture is consumed. Lyons is very distant both from the places which afford the materials of its manufactures, and from those which consume them. The people of fashion in Sicily are clothed in silks made in other countries, from the materials which their own produces. Part of the wool of Spain is manufactured in Great Britain, and some part of that cloth is afterwards sent back to Spain.

WHETHER the merchant whose capital exports the surplus produce of any society be a native or a foreigner, is of very little importance. If he is a foreigner, the number of their productive labourers is necessarily less than if he had been a native by one man only; and the value of their annual produce, by

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the profits of that one man. The ſailors or carriers whom he employs may ſtill belong indifferently either to his country, or to their country, or to ſome third country, in the ſame manner as if he had been a native. The capital of a foreigner gives a value to their ſurplus produce equally with that of a native, by exchanging it for ſomething for which there is a demand at home. It as effectually replaces the capital of the perſon who produces that ſurplus, and as effectually enables him to continue his buſineſs; the ſervice by which the capital of a wholeſale merchant chiefly contributes to ſupport the productive labour, and to augment the value of the annual produce of the ſociety to which he belongs.

IT is of more conſequence that the capital of the manufacturer ſhould reſide within the country. It neceſſarily puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour, and adds a greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the ſociety. It may, however, be very uſeful to the country, though it ſhould not reſide within it. The capitals of the Britiſh manufacturers who work up the flax and hemp annually imported from the coaſts of the Baltic, are ſurely very uſeful to the countries which produce them. Thoſe materials are a part of the ſurplus produce of thoſe countries which, unleſs it was annually exchanged for ſomething which is in demand there, would be of no value, and would ſoon ceaſe to be produced. The merchants who export it, replace the capitals of the people who produce it, and thereby encourage them to continue the production; and the Britiſh manufacturers replace the capitals of thoſe merchants.

A PARTICULAR country, in the ſame manner as a particular perſon, may frequently not have capital ſufficient both to improve and cultivate all its lands, to manufacture and prepare their whole rude produce for

for immediate use and consumption, and to transport the surplus part either of the rude or manufactured produce to those distant markets where it can be exchanged for something for which there is a demand at home. The inhabitants of many different parts of Great Britain have not capital sufficient to improve and cultivate all their lands. The wool of the southern counties of Scotland is, a great part of it, after a long land carriage through very bad roads, manufactured at Yorkshire, for want of a capital to manufacture it at home. There are many little manufacturing towns in Great Britain, of which the inhabitants have not capital sufficient to transport the produce of their own industry to those distant markets where there is demand and consumption for it. If there are any merchants among them, they are properly only the agents of wealthier merchants who reside in some of the greater commercial cities.

WHEN the capital of any country is not sufficient for all those three purposes, in proportion as a greater share of it is employed in agriculture, the greater will be the quantity of productive labour which it puts into motion within the country; as will likewise be the value which its employment adds to the annual produce of the land and labour of the society. After agriculture, the capital employed in manufactures puts into motion the greatest quantity of productive labour, and adds the greatest value to the annual produce. That which is employed in the trade of exportation, has the least effect of any of the three.

THE country, indeed, which has not capital sufficient for all those three purposes, has not arrived at that degree of opulence for which it seems naturally destined. To attempt, however, prematurely and with an insufficient capital, to do all the three, is certainly not the shortest way for a society, no more than it would be for an individual, to acquire a sufficient one.

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The capital of all the individuals of a nation, has its limits in the ſame manner as that of a ſingle individual, and is capable of executing only certain purpoſes. The capital of all the individuals of a nation is increaſed in the ſame manner as that of a ſingle individual, by their continually accumulating and adding to it whatever they ſave out of their revenue. It is likely to increaſe the faſteſt, therefore, when it is employed in the way that affords the revenue to all the inhabitants of the country, as they will thus be enabled to make the greateſt ſavings. But the revenue of all the inhabitants of the country is neceſſarily in proportion to the value of the annual produce of their land and labour.

IT has been the principal cauſe of the rapid progreſs of our American colonies towards wealth and greatneſs, that almoſt their whole capitals have hitherto been employed in agriculture. They have no manufactures, thoſe houſhold and coarſer manufactures excepted which neceſſarily accompany the progreſs of agriculture, and which are the work of the women and children in every private family. The greater part both of the exportation and coaſting trade of America, is carried on by the capitals of merchants who reſide in Great Britain. Even the ſtores and warehouſes from which goods are retailed in ſome provinces, particularly in Virginia and Maryland, belong many of them to merchants who reſide in the mother country, and afford one of the few inſtances of the retail trade of a ſociety being carried on by the capitals of thoſe who are not reſident members of it.—Were the Americans, either by combination or by any other ſort of violence, to ſtop the importation of European manufactures, and, by thus giving a monopoly to ſuch of their own countrymen as could manufacture the like goods, divert any conſiderable part of their capital into this employment, they would retard

tard instead of accelerating the further increase in the value of their annual produce, and would obstruct instead of promoting the progress of their country towards real wealth and greatness. This would be still more the case, were they to attempt, in the same manner, to monopolize to themselves their whole exportation trade.

THE course of human prosperity, indeed, seems scarce ever to have been of so long continuance as to enable any great country to acquire capital sufficient for all those three purposes; unless, perhaps, we give credit to the wonderful accounts of the wealth and cultivation of China, of those of ancient Egypt, and of the ancient state of Indostan. Even those three countries, the wealthiest, according to all accounts, that ever were in the world, are chiefly renowned for their superiority in agriculture and manufactures.—They do not appear to have been eminent for foreign trade. The ancient Egyptians had a superstitious antipathy to the sea; a superstition nearly of the same kind prevails among the Indians; and the Chinese have never excelled in foreign commerce. The greater part of the surplus produce of all those three countries seems to have been always exported by foreigners, who gave in exchange for it something else for which they found a demand there, frequently gold and silver.

IT is thus that the same capital will in any country put into motion a greater or smaller quantity of productive labour, and add a greater or smaller value to the annual produce of its land and labour, according to the different proportions in which it is employed in agriculture, manufactures, and wholesale trade. The difference too is very great, according to the different sorts of wholesale trade in which any part of it is employed.

ALL wholesale trade, all buying in order to sell again

again by wholesale, may be reduced to three different sorts. The home trade, the foreign trade of consumption, and the carrying trade. The home trade is employed in purchasing in one part of the same country, and selling in another, the produce of the industry of that country. It comprehends both the inland and the coasting trade. The foreign trade of consumption is employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption. The carrying trade is employed in transacting the commerce of foreign countries, or in carrying the surplus produce of one to another.

THE capital which is employed in purchasing in one part of the country in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country, generally replaces by every such operation two distinct capitals that had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. When it sends out from the residence of the merchant a certain value of commodities, it generally brings back in return at least an equal value of other commodities. When both are the produce of domestic industry, it necessarily replaces by every such operation two distinct capitals, which had both been employed in supporting productive labour, and thereby enables them to continue that support. The capital which sends Scotch manufactures to London, and brings back English corn and manufactures to Edinburgh, necessarily replaces, by every such operation, two British capitals which had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of Great Britain.

THE capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces too, by every such operation, two distinct capitals; but one of them only is employed in supporting domestic

induſtry. The capital which ſends Britiſh goods to Portugal, and brings back Portugueſe goods to Great Britain, replaces by every ſuch operation only one Britiſh capital. The other is a Portugueſe one. Though the returns, therefore, of the foreign trade of conſumption ſhould be as quick as thoſe of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but one-half the encouragement to the induſtry or productive labour of the country.

BUT the returns of the foreign trade of conſumption are very ſeldom ſo quick as thoſe of the home trade. The returns of the home trade generally come in before the end of the year, and ſometimes three or four times in the year. The returns of the foreign trade of conſumption ſeldom come in before the end of the year, and ſometimes not till after two or three years. A capital, therefore, employed in the home-trade will ſometimes make twelve operarions, or be ſent out and returned twelve times, before a capital employed in the foreign trade of conſumption has made one. If the capitals are equal, therefore, the one will give four and twenty times more encouragement and ſupport to the induſtry of the country than the other.

THE foreign goods for home conſumption may ſometimes be purchaſed, not with the produce of domeſtic induſtry, but with ſome other foreign goods. Theſe laſt, however, muſt have been purchaſed either immediately with the produce of domeſtic induſtry, or with ſomething elſe that had been purchaſed with it; for, the caſe of war and conqueſt excepted, foreign goods can never be acquired, but in exchange for ſomething that had been produced at home, either immediately, or after two or more different exchanges. The effects, therefore, of a capital employed in ſuch a round-about foreign trade of conſumption, are, in every reſpect, the ſame as thoſe of one employed in the

the moſt direct trade of the ſame kind, except that the final returns are likely to be ſtill more diſtant, as they muſt depend upon the returns of two or three diſtinct foreign trades. If the flax and hemp of Riga are purchaſed with the tobacco of Virginia, which had been purchaſed with Britiſh manufactures, the merchant muſt wait for the returns of two diſtinct foreign trades before he can employ the ſame capital in re-purchaſing a like quantity of Britiſh manufactures. If the tobacco of Virginia had been purchaſed, not with Britiſh manufactures, but with the ſugar and rum of Jamaica which had been purchaſed with thoſe manufactures, he muſt wait for the returns of three. If thoſe two or three diſtinct foreign trades ſhould happen to be carried on by two or three diſtinct merchants, of whom the ſecond buys the goods imported by the firſt, and the third buys thoſe imported by the ſecond, in order to export them again, each merchant indeed will in this caſe receive the returns of his own capital more quickly; but the final returns of the whole capital employed in the trade will be juſt as ſlow as ever. Whether the whole capital employed in ſuch a round-about trade belong to one merchant or to three, can make no difference with regard to the country, though it may with regard to the particular merchants. Three times a greater capital muſt in both caſes be employed, in order to exchange a certain value of Britiſh manufactures for a certain quantity of flax and hemp, than would have been neceſſary, had the manufactures and the flax and hemp been directly exchanged for one another. The whole capital employed, therefore, in ſuch a round-about foreign trade of conſumption, will generally give leſs encouragement and ſupport to the productive labour of the country, than an equal capital employed in a more direct trade of the ſame kind.

WHATEVER be the foreign commodity with which the

the foreign goods for home consumption are purchased, it can occasion no essential difference either in the nature of the trade, or in the encouragement and support which it can give to the productive labour of the country from which it is carried on. If they are purchased with the gold of Brazil, for example, or with the silver of Peru, this gold, and silver, like the tobacco of Virginia, must have been purchased with something that either was the produce of the industry of the country, or that had been purchased with something else that was so. So far, therefore, as the productive labour of the country is concerned, the foreign trade of consumption which is carried on by means of gold and silver, has all the advantages and all the inconveniencies of any other equally round-about foreign trade of consumption, and will replace just as fast or just as slow the capital which is immediately employed in supporting that productive labour. It seems even to have one advantage over any other equally round-about foreign trade. The transportation of those metals from one place to another, on account of their small bulk and great value, is less expensive than that of almost any other foreign goods of equal value. Their freight is much less, and their insurance not greater; and no goods, besides, are less liable to suffer by the carriage. An equal quantity of foreign goods, therefore, may frequently be purchased with a smaller quantity of the produce of domestic industry, by the intervention of gold and silver, than by that of any other foreign goods. The demand of the country may frequently, in this manner, be supplied more completely and at a smaller expence than in any other. Whether, by the continual exportation of those metals, a trade of this kind is likely to impoverish the country from which it is carried on, in any other way, I shall have occasion to examine at great length hereafter.

THAT

THAT part of the capital of any country which is employed in the carrying trade, is altogether withdrawn from supporting the productive labour of that particular country, to support that of some foreign countries. Though it may replace by every operation two distinct capitals, yet neither of them belongs to that particular country. The capital of the Dutch merchant, which carries the corn of Poland to Portugal, and brings back the fruits and wines of Portugal to Poland, replaces by every such operation two capitals, neither of which had been employed in supporting the productive labour of Holland; but one of them in supporting that of Poland, and the other that of Portugal. The profits only return regularly to Holland, and constitute the whole addition which this trade necessarily makes to the annual produce of the land and labour of that country. When, indeed, the carrying trade of any particular country is carried on with the ships and sailors of that country, that part of the capital employed in it which pays the freight, is distributed among, and puts into motion, a certain number of productive labourers of that country. Almost all nations that have had any considerable share of the carrying trade have, in fact, carried it on in this manner. The trade itself has probably derived its name from it, the people of such countries being the carriers to other countries. It does not, however, seem essential to the nature of the trade that it should be so. A Dutch merchant may, for example, employ his capital in transacting the commerce of Poland and Portugal, by carrying part of the surplus produce of the one to the other, not in Dutch, but in British bottoms. It may be presumed, that he actually does so upon some particular occasions. It is upon this account, however, that the carrying trade has been supposed peculiarly advantageous to such a country as Great Britain, of

which the defence and security depend upon the number of its sailors and shipping. But the same capital may employ as many sailors and shipping, either in the foreign trade of consumption, or even in the home trade, when carried on by coasting vessels, as it could in the carrying trade. The number of sailors and shipping which any particular capital can employ, does not depend upon the nature of the trade, but partly upon the bulk of the goods, in proportion to their value, and partly upon the distance of the ports between which they are to be carried; chiefly upon the former of those two circumstances. The coal-trade from Newcastle to London, for example, employs more shipping than all the carrying trade of England, though the ports are at no great distance. To force, therefore, by extraordinary encouragements, a larger share of the capital of any country into the carrying trade, than what would naturally go to it, will not always necessarily increase the shipping of that country.

THE capital, therefore, employed in the home trade of any country will generally give encouragement and support to a greater quantity of productive labour in that country, and increase the value of its annual produce more than an equal capital employed in the foreign trade of consumption: and the capital employed in this latter trade has in both these respects a still greater advantage over an equal capital employed in the carrying trade. The riches, and so far as power depends upon riches, the power of every country, must always be in proportion to the value of its annual produce, the fund from which all taxes must ultimately be paid. But the great object of the political œconomy of every country, is to encrease the riches and power of that country. It ought, therefore, to give no preference nor superior encouragement to the foreign trade of consumption above

above the home trade, nor to the carrying trade above either of the other two. It ought neither to force nor to allure into either of thoſe two channels, a greater ſhare of the capital of the country than what would naturally flow into them of its own accord.

EACH of thoſe different branches of trade, however, is not only advantageous, but neceſſary and unavoidable, when the courſe of things, without any conſtraint or violence, naturally introduces it.

WHEN the produce of any particular branch of induſtry exceeds what the demand of the country requires, the ſurplus muſt be ſent abroad, and exchanged for ſomething for which there is a demand at home. Without ſuch exportation, a part of the productive labour of the country muſt ceaſe, and the value of its annual produce diminiſh. The land and labour of Great Britain produce generally more corn, woollens, and hard ware, than the demand of the home-market requires. The ſurplus part of them, therefore, muſt be ſent abroad, and exchanged for ſomething for which there is a demand at home. It is only by means of ſuch exportation, that this ſurplus can acquire a value ſufficient to compenſate the labour and expence of producing it. The neighbourhood of the ſea coaſt, and the banks of all navigable rivers, are advantageous ſituations for induſtry, only becauſe they facilitate the exportation and exchange of ſuch ſurplus produce for ſomething elſe which is more in demand there.

WHEN the foreign goods which are thus purchaſed with the ſurplus produce of domeſtic induſtry exceed the demand of the home-market, the ſurplus part of them muſt be ſent abroad again, and exchanged for ſomething more in demand at home. About ninety-ſix thouſand hogſheads of tobacco are annually purchaſed in Virginia and Maryland, with a part of the ſurplus produce of Britiſh induſtry. But the demand

demand of Great Britain does not require, perhaps, more than fourteen thousand. If the remaining eighty-two thousand, therefore, could not be sent abroad and exchanged for something more in demand at home, the importation of them must cease immediately, and with it the productive labour of all those inhabitants of Great Britain, who are at present employed in preparing the goods with which these eighty-two thousand hogsheads are annually purchased. Those goods, which are part of the produce of the land and labour of Great Britain, having no market at home, and being deprived of that which they had abroad, must cease to be produced. The most round-about foreign trade of consumption, therefore, may, upon some occasions, be as necessary for supporting the productive labour of the country, and the value of its annual produce, as the most direct.

WHEN the capital stock of any country is increased to such a degree that it cannot be all employed in supplying the consumption, and supporting the productive labour of that particular country, the surplus part of it naturally disgorges itself into the carrying trade, and is employed in performing the same offices to other countries. The carrying trade is the natural effect and symptom of great national wealth; but it does not seem to be the natural cause of it. Those statesmen who have been disposed to favour it with particular encouragements, seem to have mistaken the effect and symptom for the cause. Holland in proportion to the extent of the land and number of its inhabitants, by far the richest country in Europe, has, accordingly, the greatest share of the carrying trade of Europe. England, perhaps the second richest country in Europe, is likewise supposed to have a considerable share of it; though what commonly passes for the carrying trade of England, will frequently, perhaps, be found to be no more than a round-about foreign

reign trade of conſumption. Such are, in a great meaſure, the trades which carry the goods of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and of America, to different European markets. Thoſe goods are generally purchaſed either immediately with the produce of Britiſh induſtry, or with ſomething elſe which had been purchaſed with that produce, and the final returns of thoſe trades are generally uſed or conſumed in Great Britain. The trade which is carried on in Britiſh bottoms between the different ports of the Mediterranean, and ſome trade of the ſame kind carried on by Britiſh merchants between the different ports of India, make, perhaps, the principal branches of what is properly the carrying trade of Great Britain.

THE extent of the home-trade and of the capital which can be employed in it, is neceſſarily limited by the value of the ſurplus produce of all thoſe diſtant places within the country which have occaſion to exchange their reſpective productions with one another. That of the foreign trade of conſumption, by the value of the ſurplus produce of the whole country and of what can be purchaſed with it. That of the carrying trade, by the value of the ſurplus produce of all the different countries in the world. Its poſſible extent, therefore, is in a manner infinite in compariſon of that of the other two, and is capable of abſorbing the greateſt capitals.

THE conſideration of his own private profit, is the ſole motive which determines the owner of any capital to employ it either in agriculture, in manufactures, or in ſome particular branch of the wholeſale or retail trade. The different quantities of productive labour which it may put into motion, and the different values which it may add to the annual produce of the land and labour of the ſociety, according as it is employed in one or other of thoſe different ways, never enter into his thoughts. In countries, therefore, where

where agriculture is the moſt profitable of all employments, and farming and improving the moſt direct roads to a ſplendid fortune, the capitals of individuals will naturally be employed in the manner moſt advantageous to the whole ſociety. The profits of agriculture, however, ſeem to have no ſuperiority over thoſe of other employments in any part of Europe. Projectors, indeed, in every corner of it, have within theſe few years amuſed the public with moſt magnificent accounts of the profits to be made by the cultivation and improvement of land. Without entering into any particular diſcuſſion of their calculations, a very ſimple obſervation may ſatisfy us that the reſult of them muſt be falſe. We ſee every day the moſt ſplendid fortunes that have been acquired in the courſe of a ſingle life by trade and manufactures, frequently from a very ſmall capital, ſometimes from no capital. A ſingle inſtance of ſuch a fortune acquired by agriculture in the ſame time, and from ſuch a capital, has not, perhaps, occurred in Europe during the courſe of the preſent century. In all the great countries of Europe, however, much good land ſtill remains uncultivated, and the greater part of what is cultivated, is far from being improved to the degree of which it is capable. Agriculture, therefore, is almoſt everywhere capable of abſorbing a much greater capital than has ever yet been employed in it. What circumſtances in the policy of Europe have given the trades which are carried on in towns ſo great an advantage over that which is carried on in the country, that private perſons frequently find it more for their advantage to employ their capitals in the moſt diſtant carrying trades of Aſia and America, than in the improvement and cultivation of the moſt fertile fields in their own neighbourhood, I ſhall endeavour to explain at full length in the two following books.

BOOK

BOOK III.

Of the different Progreſs of Opulence in different Nations.

CHAP. I.

Of the natural Progreſs of Opulence.

THE great commerce of every civilized ſociety, is that carried on between the inhabitants of the town and thoſe of the country. It conſiſts in the exchange of rude for manufactured produce, either immediately, or by the intervention of money, or of ſome ſort of paper which repreſents money. The country ſupplies the town with the means of ſubſiſtence, and the materials of manufacture. The town repays this ſupply by ſending back a part of the manufactured produce to the inhabitants of the country. The town, in which there neither is nor can be any reproduction of ſubſtances, may very properly be ſaid to gain its whole wealth and ſubſiſtence from the country. We muſt not, however, upon this account, imagine that the gain of the town is the loſs of the country. The gains of both are mutual and reciprocal, and the diviſion of labour is in this, as in all other

caſes,

cafes, advantageous to all the different perfons employed in the various occupations into which it is fubdivided. The inhabitants of the country purchafe of the town a greater quantity of manufactured goods, with the produce of a much fmaller quantity of their own labour, than they muft have employed had they attempted to prepare them themfelves. The town affords a market for the furplus produce of the country, or what is over and above the maintenance of the cultivators, and it is there that the inhabitants of the country exchange it for fomething elfe which is in demand among them. The greater the number and revenue of the inhabitants of the town, the more extenfive is the market which it affords to thofe of the country ; and the more extenfive that market, it is always the more advantageous to a great number. The corn which grows within a mile of the town, fells there for the fame price with that which comes from twenty miles diftance. But the price of the latter muft generally, not only pay the expence of raifing and bringing it to market, but afford too the ordinary profits of agriculture to the farmer. The proprietors and cultivators of the country, therefore, which lies in the neighbourhood of the town, over and above the ordinary profits of agriculture, gain, in the price of what they fell, the whole value of the carriage of the like produce that is brought from more diftant parts, and they fave, befides, the whole value of this carriage in the price of what they buy. Compare the cultivation of the lands in the neighbourhood of any conficerable town, with that of thofe which lie at fome diftance from it, and you will eafily fatisfy yourfelf how much the country is benefited by the commerce of the town. Among all the abfurd fpeculations that have been propagated concerning the balance of trade, it has never been pretended that either the country lofes by its commerce with the town,

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or the town by that with the country which maintains it.

As subsistence is, in the nature of things, prior to conveniency and luxury, so the industry which procures the former, must necessarily be prior to that which ministers to the latter. The cultivation and improvement of the country, therefore, which affords subsistence, must, necessarily, be prior to the increase of the town, which furnishes only the means of conveniency and luxury. It is the surplus produce of the country only, or what is over and above the maintenance of the cultivators, that constitutes the subsistence of the town, which can therefore increase only with the increase of this surplus produce. The town, indeed, may not always derive its whole subsistence from the country in its neighbourhood, or even from the territory to which it belongs, but from very distant countries; and this though it forms no exception from the general rule, has occasioned considerable variations in the progress of opulence in different ages and nations.

That order of things which necessity imposes in general, though not in every particular country, is, in every particular country, promoted by the natural inclinations of man. If human institutions had never thwarted those natural inclinations, the towns could no-where have increased beyond what the improvement and cultivation of the territory in which they were situated could support; till such time, at least, as the whole of that territory was completely cultivated and improved. Upon equal, or nearly equal profits, most men will chuse to employ their capitals rather in the improvement and cultivation of land, than either in manufactures or in foreign trade. The man who employs his capital in land, has it more under his view and command, and his fortune is much less liable to accidents, than that of the trader, who

is obliged frequently to commit it, not only to the winds and the waves, but to the more uncertain elements of human folly and injuſtice, by giving great credits in diſtant countries to men, with whoſe character and ſituation he can ſeldom be thoroughly acquainted. The capital of the landlord, on the contrary, which is fixed in the improvement of his land, ſeems to be as well ſecured as the nature of human affairs can admit of. The beauty of the country beſides, the pleaſures of a country life, the tranquillity of mind which it promiſes, and wherever the injuſtice of human laws does not diſturb it, the independency which it really affords, have charms that more or leſs attract every body; and as to cultivate the ground was the original deſtination of man, ſo in every ſtage of his exiſtence he ſeems to retain a predilection for this primitive employment.

WITHOUT the aſſiſtance of ſome artificers, indeed, the cultivation of land cannot be carried on, but with great inconveniency and continual interruption.—Smiths, carpenters, wheel-wrights and plough-wrights, maſons, and bricklayers, tanners, ſhoemakers, and tailors, are people, whoſe ſervice the farmer has frequent occaſion for. Such artificers too ſtand, occaſionally, in need of the aſſiſtance of one another; and as their reſidence is not, like that of the farmer, neceſſarily tied down to a preciſe ſpot, they naturally ſettle in the neighbourhood of one another, and thus form a ſmall town or village. The butcher, the brewer, and the baker, ſoon join them, together with many other artificers and retailers, neceſſary or uſeful for ſupplying their occaſional wants, and who contribute ſtill further to augment the town. The inhabitants of the town and thoſe of the country are mutually the ſervants of one another. The town is a continual fair or market, to which the inhabitants of the country reſort, in order to exchange their rude for manufactured

tured produce. It is this commerce which supplies the inhabitants of the town both with the materials of their work, and the means of their subsistence. The quantity of the finished work which they sell to the inhabitants of the country, necessarily regulates the quantity of the materials and provisions which they buy. Neither their employment nor subsistence, therefore, can augment, but in proportion to the augmentation of the demand from the country for finished work; and this demand can augment only in proportion to the extension of improvement and cultivation. Had human institutions, therefore, never disturbed the natural course of things, the progressive wealth and increase of the towns would, in every political society, be consequential, and in proportion to the improvement and cultivation of the territory or country.

In our North American colonies, where uncultivated land is still to be had upon easy terms, no manufactures for distant sale have ever yet been established in any of their towns. When an artificer has acquired a little more stock than is necessary for carrying on his own business in supplying the neighbouring country, he does not, in North America, attempt to establish with it a manufacture for more distant sale, but employs it in the purchase and improvement of uncultivated land. From artificer he becomes planter, and neither the large wages nor the easy subsistence which that country affords to artificers, can bribe him rather to work for other people than for himself. He feels that an artificer is the servant of his customers, from whom he derives his subsistence; but that a planter who cultivates his own land, and derives his necessary subsistence from the labour of his own family, is really a master, and independent of all the world.

In countries, on the contrary, where there is either no uncultivated land, or none that can be had upon

easy

eaſy terms, every artificer who has acquired more ſtock than he can employ in the occaſional jobs of the neighbourhood, endeavours to prepare work for more diſtant ſale. The ſmith erects ſome ſort of iron, the weaver ſome ſort of linen or woollen manufactory. Thoſe different manufactures come, in proceſs of time, to be gradually ſubdivided, and thereby improved and refined in a great variety of ways, which may eaſily be conceived, and which it is therefore unneceſſary to explain any further.

IN ſeeking for employment to a capital, manufactures are, upon equal, or nearly equal profits, naturally preferred to foreign commerce, for the ſame reaſon that agriculture is naturally preferred to manufactures. As the capital of the landlord or farmer is more ſecure than that of the manufacturer, ſo the capital of the manufacturer, being at all times more within his view and command, is more ſecure than that of the foreign merchant. In every period, indeed, of every ſociety, the ſurplus part both of the rude and manufactured produce, or that for which there is no demand at home, muſt be ſent abroad in order to be exchanged for ſomething for which there is ſome demand at home. But whether the capital, which carries this ſurplus produce abroad, be a foreign or a domeſtic one, is of very little importance. If the ſociety has not acquired ſufficient capital both to cultivate all its lands, and to manufacture in the completeſt manner the whole of its rude produce, there is even a conſiderable advantage that that rude produce ſhould be exported by a foreign capital, in order that the whole ſtock of the ſociety may be employed in more uſeful purpoſes. The wealth of ancient Egypt, that of China and Indoſtan, ſufficiently demonſtrate that a nation may attain a very high degree of opulence, though the greater part of its exportation trade be carried on by foreigners. The progreſs

greſs of our North American and Weſt Indian colonies would have been much leſs rapid, had no capital but what belonged to themſelves been employed in exporting their ſurplus produce.

ACCORDING to the natural courſe of things, therefore, the greater part of the capital of every growing ſociety is, firſt, directed to agriculture, afterwards to manufactures, and laſt of all to foreign commerce. This order of things is ſo very natural, that in every ſociety that had any territory, it has always, I believe, been in ſome degree obſerved. Some of their lands muſt have been cultivated before any conſiderable towns could be eſtabliſhed, and ſome ſort of coarſe induſtry of the manufacturing kind muſt have been carried on in thoſe towns, before they could well think of employing themſelves in foreign commerce.

BUT though this natural order of things muſt have taken place in ſome degree in every ſuch ſociety, it has, in all the modern ſtates of Europe, been, in many reſpects, entirely inverted. The foreign commerce of ſome of their cities has introduced all their finer manufactures, or ſuch as were fit for diſtant ſale; and manufactures and foreign commerce together, have given birth to the principal improvements of agriculture. The manners and cuſtoms which the nature of their original government introduced, and which remained after that government was greatly altered, neceſſarily forced them into this unnatural and retrograde order.

CHAP. II.

Of the Diſcouragement of Agriculture in the ancient State of Europe after the Fall of the Roman Empire.

WHEN the German and Scythian nations overran the weſtern provinces of the Roman empire, the confuſions which followed ſo great a revolution laſted for ſeveral centuries. The rapine and violence which the barbarians exerciſed againſt the ancient inhabitants, interrupted the commerce between the towns and the country. The towns were deſerted, and the country was left uncultivated, and the weſtern provinces of Europe, which had enjoyed a conſiderable degree of opulence under the Roman empire, ſunk into the loweſt ſtate of poverty and barbariſm. During the continuance of thoſe confuſions, the chiefs and principal leaders of thoſe nations, acquired or uſurped to themſelves the greater part of the lands of thoſe countries. A great part of them was uncultivated; but no part of them, whether cultivated or uncultivated, was left without a proprietor. All of them were engroſſed, and the greater part by a few great proprietors.

THIS original engroſſing of uncultivated lands, though a great, might have been but a tranſitory evil. They might ſoon have been divided again, and broke into ſmall parcels either by ſucceſſion or by alienation. The law of primogeniture hindered them from being divided by ſucceſſion: the introduction of entails prevented their being broke into ſmall parcels by alienation.

WHEN land, like moveables, is conſidered as the means only of ſubſiſtence and enjoyment, the natural law of ſucceſſion divides it, like them, among all the children

children of the family; of all of whom the subsistence and enjoyment may be supposed equally dear to the father. This natural law of succession accordingly took place among the Romans, who made no more distinction between elder and younger, between male and female, in the inheritance of lands, than we do in the distribution of moveables. But when land was considered as the means, not of subsistence merely, but of power and protection, it was thought better that it should descend undivided to one. In those disorderly times, every great landlord was a sort of petty prince. His tenants were his subjects. He was their judge, and in some respects their legislator in peace, and their leader in war. He made war according to his own discretion, frequently against his neighbours, and sometimes against his sovereign. The security of a landed estate, therefore, the protection which its owner could afford to those who dwelt on it, depended upon its greatness. To divide it was to ruin it, and to expose every part of it to be oppressed and swallowed up by the incursions of its neighbours. The law of primogeniture, therefore, came to take place, not immediately, indeed, but in process of time, in the succession of landed estates, for the same reason that it has generally taken place in that of monarchies, though not always at their first institution. That the power, and consequently the security of the monarchy, may not be weakened by division, it must descend entire to one of the children. To which of them so important a preference shall be given, must be determined by some general rule, founded not upon the doubtful distinctions of personal merit, but upon some plain and evident difference which can admit of no dispute. Among the children of the same family, there can be no indisputable difference but that of sex, and that of age. The male sex is universally preferred to the female; and when

when all other things are equal, the elder every-where take place of the younger. Hence the origin of the right of primogeniture, and of what is called lineal ſucceſſion.

LAWS frequently continue in force long after the circumſtances, which firſt gave occaſion to them, and which could alone render them reaſonable, are no more. In the preſent ſtate of Europe, the proprietor of a ſingle acre of land is as perfectly ſecure of his poſſeſſion as the proprietor of a hundred thouſand. The right of primogeniture, however, ſtill continues to be reſpected, and as of all inſtitutions it is the fitteſt to ſupport the pride of family diſtinctions, it is ſtill likely to endure for many centuries. In every other reſpect, nothing can be more contrary to the real intereſt of a numerous family, than a right which, in order to enrich one, beggars all the reſt of the children.

ENTAILS are the natural conſequences of the law of primogeniture. They were introduced to preſerve a certain lineal ſucceſſion, of which the law of primogeniture firſt gave the idea, and to hinder any part of the original eſtate from being carried out of the propoſed line either by gift, or deviſe, or alienation; either by the folly, or by the misfortune of any of its ſucceſſive owners. They were altogether unknown to the Romans. Neither their ſubſtitutions nor fideicommiſſes bear any reſemblance to entails, though ſome French lawyers have thought proper to dreſs the modern inſtitution in the language and garb of thoſe ancient ones.

WHEN great landed eſtates were a ſort of principalities, entails might not be unreaſonable. Like what are called the fundamental laws of ſome monarchies, they might frequently hinder the ſecurity of thouſands from being endangered by the caprice or extravagance of one man. But in the preſent ſtate of Europe,

Europe, when ſmall as well as great eſtates derive their ſecurity from the laws of their country, nothing can be more completely abſurd. They are founded upon the moſt abſurd of all ſuppoſitions, the ſuppoſiton that every ſucceſſive generation of men have not an equal right to the earth, and to all that it poſſeſſes; but that the property of the preſent generation ſhould be reſtrained and regulated according to the fancy of thoſe who died perhaps five hundred years ago. Entails, however, are ſtill reſpected through the greater part of Europe, in thoſe countries particularly in which noble birth is a neceſſary qualification for the enjoyment either of civil or military honours. Entails are thought neceſſary for maintaining this excluſive privilege of the nobility to the great offices and honours of their country; and that order having uſurped one unjuſt advantage over the reſt of their fellow-citizens, leſt their poverty ſhould render it ridiculous, it is thought reaſonable that they ſhould have another. The common law of England, indeed, is ſaid to abhor perpetuities, and they are accordingly more reſtricted there than in any other European monarchy; though even England is not altogether without them. In Scotland more than one-fifth, perhaps more than one-third part of the whole lands of the country, are at preſent ſuppoſed to be under ſtrict entail.

GREAT tracts of uncultivated land were, in this manner, not only engroſſed by particular families, but the poſſibility of their being divided again was as much as poſſible precluded for ever. It ſeldom happens, however, that a great proprietor is a great improver. In the diſorderly times which gave birth to thoſe barbarous inſtitutions, the great proprietor was ſufficiently employed in defending his own territories, or in extending his juriſdiction and authority over thoſe of his neighbours. He had no leiſure to attend to the cultivation and improvement of land. When the eſtabliſhment

tabliſhment of law and order afforded him this leiſure, he often wanted the inclination, and almoſt always the requiſite abilities. If the expence of his houſe and perſon either equalled or exceeded his revenue, as it did very frequently, he had no ſtock to employ in this manner. If he was an œconomiſt, he generally found it more profitable to employ his annual ſavings in new purchaſes, than in the improvement of his old eſtate. To improve land with profit, like all other commercial projects, requires an exact attention to ſmall ſavings and ſmall gains, of which a man born to a great fortune, even though naturally frugal, is very ſeldom capable. The ſituation of ſuch a perſon naturally diſpoſes him to attend rather to ornament which pleaſes his fancy, than to profit for which he has ſo little occaſion. The elegance of his dreſs, of his equipage, of his houſe, and houſhold furniture, are objects which from his infancy he has been accuſtomed to have ſome anxiety about. The turn of mind which this habit naturally forms, follows him when he comes to think of the improvement of land. He embelliſhes perhaps four or five hundred acres in the neighbourhood of his houſe, at ten times the expence which the land is worth after all his improvements; and finds that if he was to improve his whole eſtate in the ſame manner, and he has little taſte for any other, he would be a bankrupt before he had finiſhed the tenth part of it. There ſtill remain in both parts of the united kingdom ſome great eſtates which have continued without interruption in the hands of the ſame family ſince the times of feudal anarchy. Compare the preſent condition of thoſe eſtates with the poſſeſſions of the ſmall proprietors in their neighbourhood, and you will require no other argument to convince you how unfavourable ſuch extenſive property is to improvement.

IF little improvement was to be expected from ſuch great

great proprietors, ſtill leſs was to be hoped for from thoſe who occupied the land under them. In the ancient ſtate of Europe, the occupiers of land were all tenants at will. They were all, or almoſt all ſlaves; but their ſlavery was of a milder kind than that known among the ancient Greeks and Romans, or even in our Weſt Indian colonies. They were ſuppoſed to belong more directly to the land than to their maſter. They could, therefore, be ſold with it, but not ſeparately. They could marry, provided it was with the conſent of their maſter; and he could not afterwards diſſolve the marriage by ſelling the man and wife to different perſons. If he maimed or murdered any of them, he was liable to ſome penalty, though generally but to a ſmall one. They were not, however, capable of acquiring property. Whatever they acquired was acquired to their maſter, and he could take it from them at pleaſure. Whatever cultivation and improvement could be carried on by means of ſuch ſlaves, was properly carried on by their maſter. It was at his expence. The ſeed, the cattle, and the inſtruments of huſbandry were all his. It was for his benefit. Such ſlaves could acquire nothing but their daily maintenance. It was properly the proprietor himſelf, therefore, that, in this caſe, occupied his own lands, and cultivated them by his own bondmen. This ſpecies of ſlavery ſtill ſubſiſts in Ruſſia, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and other parts of Germany. It is only in the weſtern and ſouth-weſtern provinces of Europe, that it has gradually been aboliſhed altogether.

BUT if great improvements are ſeldom to be expected from great proprietors, they are leaſt of all to be expected when they employ ſlaves for their workmen.

THE experience of all ages and nations, I believe, demonſtrates that the work done by ſlaves, though it appears to coſt only their maintenance, is in the end

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the dearest of any. A person who can acquire no property, can have no other interest but to eat as much, and to labour as little as possible. Whatever work he does beyond what is sufficient to purchase his own maintenance, can be squeezed out of him by violence only, and not by any interest of his own. In ancient Italy, how much the cultivation of corn degenerated, how unprofitable it became to the master when it fell under the management of slaves, is remarked by both Pliny and Columella. In the time of Aristotle it had not been much better in ancient Greece. Speaking of the ideal republic described in the laws of Plato, to maintain five thousand idle men (the number of warriors supposed necessary for its defence) together with their women and servants, would require, he says, a territory of boundless extent and fertility, like the plains of Babylon.

THE pride of man makes him love to domineer, and nothing mortifies him so much as to be obliged to condescend to persuade his inferiors. Wherever the law allows it, and the nature of the work can afford it, therefore, he will generally prefer the service of slaves to that of freemen. The planting of sugar and tobacco can afford the expence of slave-cultivation. The raising of corn, it seems, in the present times, cannot. In the English colonies, of which the principal produce is corn, the far greater part of the work is done by freemen. The late resolution of the Quakers in Pennsylvania to set at liberty all their negro slaves, may satisfy us that their number cannot be very great. Had they made any considerable part of their property, such a resolution could never have been agreed to. In our sugar colonies, on the contrary, the whole work is done by slaves, and in our tobacco colonies a very great part of it. The profits of a sugar-plantation in any of our West Indian colonies are generally much greater than those of

of any other cultivation that is known either in Europe or America: And the profits of a tobacco plantation, though inferior to thoſe of ſugar, are ſuperior to thoſe of corn, as has already been obſerved. Both can afford the expence of ſlave-cultivation, but ſugar can afford it ſtill better than tobacco. The number of negroes accordingly is much greater, in proportion to that of whites, in our ſugar than in our tobacco colonies.

To the ſlave cultivators of ancient times, gradually ſucceeded a ſpecies of farmers known at preſent in France by the name of Metayers. They are called in Latin, Coloni Partiarii. They have been ſo long in diſuſe in England, that at preſent I know no Engliſh name for them. The proprietor furniſhed them with the ſeed, cattle, and inſtruments of huſbandry, the whole ſtock, in ſhort, neceſſary for cultivating the farm. The produce was divided equally between the proprietor and the farmer, after ſetting aſide what was judged neceſſary for keeping up the ſtock, which was reſtored to the proprietor, when the farmer either quitted, or was turned out of the farm.

LAND occupied by ſuch tenants is properly cultivated at the expence of the proprietor, as much as that occupied by ſlaves. There is, however, one very eſſential difference between them. Such tenants, being freemen, are capable of acquiring property, and having a certain proportion of the produce of the land, they have a plain intereſt that the whole produce ſhould be as great as poſſible, in order that their own proportion may be ſo. A ſlave, on the contrary, who can acquire nothing but his own maintenance, conſults his own eaſe by making the land produce as little as poſſible over and above that maintenance. It is probable that it was partly upon account of this advantage, and partly upon account of the encroachments which the ſovereign, always jea-

lous of the great lords, gradually encouraged their villains to make upon their authority, and which ſeem at laſt to have been ſuch as rendered this ſpecies of ſervitude altogether inconvenient, that tenure in villanage gradually wore out through the greater part of Europe. The time and manner, however, in which ſo important a revolution was brought about, is one of the moſt obſcure points in modern hiſtory. The church of Rome claims great merit in it; and it is certain that ſo early as the twelfth century, Alexander III. publiſhed a bull for the general emancipation of ſlaves. It ſeems, however, to have been rather a pious exhortation, than a law to which exact obedience was required from the faithful. Slavery continued to take place almoſt univerſally for ſeveral centuries afterwards, till it was gradually aboliſhed by the joint operation of the two intereſts above mentioned, that of the proprietor on the one hand, and that of the ſovereign on the other. A villain enfranchiſed, and at the ſame time allowed to continue in poſſeſſion of the land, having no ſtock of his own, could cultivate it only by means of what the landlord advanced to him, and muſt, therefore, have been what the French call a Metayer.

IT could never, however, be the intereſt even of this laſt ſpecies of cultivators to lay out, in the further improvement of the land, any part of the little ſtock which they might ſave from their own ſhare of the produce, becauſe the lord, who laid out nothing, was to get one-half of whatever it produced. The tithe, which is but a tenth of the produce, is found to be a very great hindrance to improvement. A tax, therefore, which amounted to one-half, muſt have been an effectual bar to it. It might be the intereſt of a metayer to make the land produce as much as could be brought out of it by means of the ſtock furniſhed by the proprietor; but it could never be his intereſt to

mix any part of his own with it. In France, where five parts out of ſix of the whole kingdom are ſaid to be ſtill occupied by this ſpecies of cultivators, the proprietors complain that their metayers take every opportunity of employing the maſters cattle rather in carriage than in cultivation; becauſe in the one caſe they get the whole profits to themſelves, in the other they ſhare them with their landlord. This ſpecies of tenants ſtill ſubſiſts in ſome parts of Scotland. They are called ſteel-bow tenants. Thoſe ancient Engliſh tenants, who are ſaid by Chief Baron Gilbert and Doctor Blackſtone to have been rather bailiffs of the landlord than farmers properly ſo called, were probably of the ſame kind.

To this ſpecies of tenantcy ſucceeded, tho' by very ſlow degrees, farmers properly ſo called, who cultivated the land with their own ſtock, paying a rent certain to the landlord. When ſuch farmers have a leaſe for a term of years, they may ſometimes find it for their intereſt to lay out part of their capital in the further improvement of the farm; becauſe they may ſometimes expect to recover it, with a large profit, before the expiration of the leaſe. The poſſeſſion even of ſuch farmers, however, was long extremely precarious, and ſtill is ſo in many parts of Europe. They could before the expiration of their term be legally outed of their leaſe, by a new purchaſer; in England, even by the fictitious action of a common recovery. If they were turned out illegally by the violence of their maſter, the action by which they obtained redreſs was extremely imperfect. It did not always reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of the land, but gave them damages which never amounted to the real loſs. Even in England, the country perhaps of Europe where the yeomanry has always been moſt reſpected, it was not till about the 14th of Henry the VII that the action of ejectment was invented, by which the tenant

tenant recovers, not damages only but poſſeſſion, and in which his claim is not neceſſarily concluded by the uncertain deciſion of a ſingle aſſize. This action has been found ſo effectual a remedy that, in the modern practice, when the landlord has occaſion to ſue for the poſſeſſion of the land, he ſeldom makes uſe of the actions which properly belong to him as landlord, the writ of right or the writ of entry, but ſues in the name of his tenant, by the writ of ejectment. In England, therefore, the ſecurity of the tenant is equal to that of the proprietor. In England, beſides, a leaſe for life of forty ſhillings a year value is a freehold, and entitles the leſſee to vote for a member of parliament; and as a great part of the yeomanry have freeholds of this kind, the whole order becomes reſpectable to their landlords on account of the political conſideration which this gives them. There is, I believe, no-where in Europe, except in England, any inſtance of the tenant building upon the land of which he had no leaſe, and truſting that the honour of his landlord would take no advantage of ſo important an improvement. Thoſe laws and cuſtoms ſo favourable to the yeomanry, have perhaps contributed more to the preſent grandeur of England, than all their boaſted regulations of commerce taken together.

THE law which ſecures the longeſt leaſes againſt ſucceſſors of every kind is, ſo far as I know, peculiar to Great Britain. It was introduced into Scotland ſo early as 1449, by a law of James the IId. Its beneficial influence, however, has been much obſtructed by entails; the heirs of entail being generally reſtrained from letting leaſes for any long term of years, frequently for more than one year. A late act of parliament has, in this reſpect, ſomewhat ſlackened their fetters, though they are ſtill by much too ſtrait. In Scotland, beſides, as no leaſehold gives a

vote

vote for a member of parliament, the yeomanry are upon this account less respectable to their landlords than in England.

In other parts of Europe, after it was found convenient to secure tenants both against heirs and purchasers, the term of their security was still limited to a very short period; in France, for example, to nine years from the commencement of the lease. It has in that country, indeed, been lately extended to twenty-seven, a period still too short to encourage the tenant to make the most important improvements. The proprietors of land were anciently the legislators of every part of Europe. The laws relating to land, therefore, were all calculated for what they supposed the interest of the proprietor. It was for his interest, they had imagined, that no lease granted by any of his predecessors should hinder him from enjoying, during a long term of years, the full value of his land. Avarice and injustice are always short-sighted, and they did not foresee how much this regulation must obstruct improvement, and thereby hurt in the long-run the real interest of the landlord.

The farmers too, besides paying the rent, were anciently, it was supposed, bound to perform a great number of services to the landlord, which were seldom either specified in the lease, or regulated by any precise rule, but by the use and wont of the manor or barony. These services, therefore, being almost entirely arbitrary, subjected the tenant to many vexations. In Scotland the abolition of all services, not precisely stipulated in the lease, has in the course of a few years very much altered for the better the condition of the yeomanry of that country.

The public services to which the yeomanry were bound, were not less arbitrary than the private ones. To make and maintain the high roads, a servitude which still subsists, I believe, every-where, though

with different degrees of oppreſſion in different countries, was not the only one. When the king's troops, when his houſehold or his officers of any kind paſſed through any part of the country, the yeomanry were bound to provide them with horſes, carriages, and proviſions, at a price regulated by the purveyor.—Great Britain is, I believe, the only monarchy in Europe where the oppreſſion of purveyance has been entirely aboliſhed. It ſtill ſubſiſts in France and Germany.

THE public taxes to which they were ſubject were as irregular and oppreſſive as the ſervices. The ancient lords, though extremely unwilling to grant themſelves any pecuniary aid to their ſovereign, eaſily allowed him to tallage, as they called it, their tenants, and had not knowledge enough to foreſee how much this muſt in the end affect their own revenue. The taille, as it ſtill ſubſiſts in France, may ſerve as an example of thoſe ancient tallages. It is a tax upon the ſuppoſed profits of the farmer, which they eſtimate by the ſtock that he has upon the farm. It is his intereſt, therefore, to appear to have as little as poſſible, and conſequently to employ as little as poſſible in its cultivation, and none in its improvement. Should any ſtock happen to accumulate in the hands of a French farmer, the taille is almoſt equal to a prohibition of its ever being employed upon the land. This tax beſides is ſuppoſed to diſhonour whoever is ſubject to it, and to degrade him below, not only the rank of a gentleman, but that of a burgher, and whoever rents the lands of another becomes ſubject to it. No gentleman, nor even any burgher who has ſtock, will ſubmit to this degradation. This tax, therefore, not only hinders the ſtock which accumulates upon the land from being employed in its improvement, but drives away all other ſtock from it. The ancient tenths and fifteenths, ſo uſual in England

land in former times, ſeem, ſo far as they affected the land, to have been taxes of the ſame nature with the taille.

UNDER all theſe diſcouragements, little improvement could be expected from the occupiers of land. That order of people, with all the liberty and ſecurity which law can give, muſt always improve under great diſadvantages. The farmer compared with the proprietor, is as a merchant who trades with borrowed money compared with one who trades with his own. The ſtock of both may improve, but that of the one, with only equal good conduct, muſt always improve more ſlowly than that of the other, on account of the large ſhare of the profits which is conſumed by the intereſt of the loan. The lands cultivated by the farmer muſt, in the ſame manner, with only equal good conduct, be improved more ſlowly than thoſe cultivated by the proprietor; on account of the large ſhare of the produce which is conſumed in the rent, and which, had the farmer been proprietor, he might have employed in the further improvement of the land. The ſtation of a farmer beſides is, from the nature of things, inferior to that of a proprietor. Through the greater part of Europe the yeomanry are regarded as an inferior rank of people, even to the better ſort of tradeſmen and mechanics, and in all parts of Europe to the great merchants and maſter manufacturers. It can ſeldom happen, therefore, that a man of any conſiderable ſtock ſhould quit the ſuperior, in order to place himſelf in an inferior ſtation. Even in the preſent ſtate of Europe, therefore, little ſtock is likely to go from any other profeſſion to the improvement of land in the way of farming. More does perhaps in Great Britain than in any other country, though even there the great ſtocks which are, in ſome places, employed in farming, have generally been acquired by farming,

ing, the trade, perhaps, in which of all other ſtock is commonly acquired moſt ſlowly. After ſmall proprietors, however, rich and great farmers are, in every country, the principal improvers. There are more ſuch perhaps in England than in any other European monarchy. In the republican governments of Holland and of Berne in Switzerland, the farmers are ſaid to be not inferior to thoſe of England.

THE ancient policy of Europe was, over and above all this, unfavourable to the improvement and cultivation of land, whether carried on by the proprietor or by the farmer; firſt, by the general prohibition of the exportation of corn without a ſpecial licence, which ſeems to have been a very univerſal regulation; and ſecondly, by the reſtraints which were laid upon the inland commerce, not only of corn but of almoſt every other part of the produce of the farm, by the abſurd laws againſt engroſſers, regrators, and foreſtallers, and by the privileges of fairs and markets. It has already been obſerved in what manner the prohibition of the exportation of corn, together with ſome encouragement given to the importation of foreign corn, obſtructed the cultivation of ancient Italy, naturally the moſt fertile country in Europe, and at that time the ſeat of the greateſt empire in the world. To what degree ſuch reſtraints upon the inland commerce of this commodity, joined to the general prohibition of exportation, muſt have diſcouraged the cultivation of countries leſs fertile, and leſs favourably circumſtanced, it is not perhaps very eaſy to imagine.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Rise and Progress of Cities and Towns, after the Fall of the Roman Empire.

THE inhabitants of cities and towns were, after the fall of the Roman empire, not more favoured than those of the country. They consisted, indeed, of a very different order of people from the first inhabitants of the ancient republics of Greece and Italy. These last were composed chiefly of the proprietors of lands, among whom the public territory was originally divided, and who found it convenient to build their houses in the neighbourhood of one another, and to surround them with a wall, for the sake of common defence. After the fall of the Roman empire, on the contrary, the proprietors of land seem generally to have lived in fortified castles on their own estates, and in the midst of their own tenants and dependents. The towns were chiefly inhabited by tradesmen and mechanics, who seem in those days to have been of servile, or very nearly of servile condition. The privileges which we find granted by ancient charters to the inhabitants of some of the principal towns in Europe sufficiently shew what they were before those grants. The people to whom it is granted as a privilege, that they might give away their own daughters in marriage without the consent of their lord, that upon their death their own children, and not their lord, should succeed to their goods, and that they might dispose of their own effects by will, must, before those grants, have been either altogether, or very nearly in the same state of villanage with the occupiers of land in the country.

THEY seem, indeed, to have been a very poor, mean

mean ſet of people, who uſed to travel about with their goods from place to place, and from fair to fair, like the hawkers and pedlars of the preſent times. In all the different countries of Europe then, in the ſame manner as in ſeveral of the Tartar governments of Aſia at preſent, taxes uſed to be levied upon the perſons and goods of travellers, when they paſſed through certain manors, when they went over certain bridges, when they carried about their goods from place to place in a fair, when they erected in it a booth or ſtall to ſell them in. Theſe different taxes were known in England by the names of paſſage, pontage, laſtage, and ſtallage. Sometimes the king, ſometimes a great lord, who had, it ſeems, upon ſome occaſions, authority to do this, would grant to particular traders, to ſuch particularly as lived in their own demeſnes, a general exemption from ſuch taxes. Such traders, though in other reſpects of ſervile, or very nearly of ſervile condition, were upon this account called Free-traders. They in return uſually paid to their protector a ſort of annual poll-tax. In thoſe days protection was ſeldom granted without a valuable conſideration, and this tax might, perhaps, be conſidered as compenſation for what their patrons might loſe by their exemption from other taxes. At firſt, both thoſe poll-taxes and thoſe exemptions ſeem to have been altogether perſonal, and to have affected only particular individuals, during either their lives, or the pleaſure of their protectors. In the very imperfect accounts which have been publiſhed from Domeſday-book, of ſeveral of the towns of England, mention is frequently made ſometimes of the tax which particular burghers paid, each of them, either to the king, or to ſome other great lord, for this ſort of protection; and ſometimes of the general amount only of all thoſe taxes.*

BUT

* See Brady's hiſtorical treatiſe of Cities and Burroughs, p. 3, &c.

BUT how ſervile ſoever may have been originally the condition of the inhabitants of the towns, it appears evidently, that they arrived at liberty and independency much earlier than the occupiers of land in the country. That part of the king's revenue which aroſe from ſuch poll-taxes in any particular town, uſed commonly to be let in farm, during a term of years for a rent certain, ſometimes to the ſheriff of the county, and ſometimes to other perſons. The burghers themſelves frequently got credit enough to be admitted to farm the revenues of this ſort which aroſe out of their own town, they becoming jointly and ſeverally anſwerable for the whole rent.* To let a farm in this manner was quite agreeable to the uſual œconomy of, I believe, the ſovereigns of all the different countries of Europe; who uſed frequently to let whole manors, to all the tenants of thoſe manors, they becoming jointly and ſeverally anſwerable for the whole rent; but in return being allowed to collect it in their own way, and to pay it into the king's exchequer by the hands of their own bailiff, and being thus altogether freed from the inſolence of the king's officers; a circumſtance in thoſe days regarded as of the greateſt importance.

AT firſt, the farm of the town was probably let to the burghers, in the ſame manner as it had been to other farmers, for a term of years only. In proceſs of time, however, it ſeems to have become the general practice to grant it to them in fee, that is for ever, reſerving a rent certain never afterwards to be augmented. The payment having thus become perpetual, the exemptions, in return for which it was made, naturally became perpetual too. Thoſe exemptions, therefore, ceaſed to be perſonal, and could not afterwards be conſidered as belonging to individuals as individuals,

* See Madox Firma Burgi, p. 18, alſo Hiſtory of the Exchequer, chap. 10. ſect. v. p. 223, firſt edition.

dividuals, but as burghers of a particular burgh, which, upon this account, was called a Free burgh, for the ſame reaſon that they had been called Free-burghers or Free-traders.

ALONG with this grant, the important privileges above mentioned, that they might give away their own daughters in marriage, that their children ſhould ſucceed to them, and that they might diſpoſe of their own effects by will, were generally beſtowed upon the burghers of the town to whom it was given. Whether ſuch privileges had before been uſually granted along with the freedom of trade, to particular burghers as individuals, I know not. I reckon it not improbable that they were, though I cannot produce any direct evidence of it. But however this may have been, the principal attributes of villanage and ſlavery being thus taken away from them, they now, at leaſt, became really free in our preſent ſenſe of the word Freedom.

NOR was this all. They were generally at the ſame time erected into a commonalty or corporation, with the privilege of having magiſtrates and a town-council of their own, of making bye-laws for their own government, of building walls for their own defence, and of reducing all their inhabitants under a ſort of military diſcipline, by obliging them to watch and ward; that is, as anciently underſtood, to guard and defend thoſe walls againſt all attacks and ſurpriſes by night as well by day. In England they were generally exempted from ſuit to the hundred and and county courts; and all ſuch pleas as ſhould ariſe among them, the pleas of the crown excepted, were left to the deciſion of their own magiſtrates. In other countries much greater and more extenſive juriſdictions were frequently granted to them*.

IT

* See Madox Firma Burgi: See alſo Pfeffel in the remarkable events under Frederic II. and his ſucceſſors of the houſe of Suabia.

IT might, probably, be neceſſary to grant to ſuch towns as were admitted to farm their own revenues, ſome ſort of compulſive juriſdiction to oblige their own citizens to make payment. In thoſe diſorderly times it might have been extremely inconvenient to have left them to ſeek this ſort of juſtice from any other tribunal. But it muſt ſeem extraordinary that the ſovereigns of all the different countries of Europe, ſhould have exchanged in this manner for a rent certain, never more to be augmented, that branch of their revenue, which was, perhaps, of all others the moſt likely to be improved by the natural courſe of things, without either expence or attention of their own: and that they they ſhould, beſides, have in this manner voluntarily erected a ſort of independent republics in the heart of their own dominions.

IN order to underſtand this, it muſt be remembered, that in thoſe days the ſovereign of perhaps no country in Europe was able to protect, through the whole extent of his dominions, the weaker part of his ſubjects from the oppreſſion of the great lords. Thoſe whom the law could not protect, and who were not ſtrong enough to defend themſelves, were obliged either to have recourſe to the protection of ſome great lord, and in order to obtain it to become either his ſlaves or vaſſals; or to enter into a league of mutual defence for the common protection of one another. The inhabitants of cities and burghs, conſidered as ſingle individuals, had no power to defend themſelves; but by entering into a league of mutual defence with their neighbours, they were capable of making no contemptible reſiſtance. The lords deſpiſed the burghers, whom they conſidered not only as of a different order, but as a parcel of emancipated ſlaves, almoſt of a different ſpecies from themſelves. The wealth of the burghers never failed to provoke their envy and indignation, and they plundered them upon every

occaſion without mercy or remorſe. The burghers naturally hated and feared the lords. The king hated and feared them too; but though perhaps he might deſpiſe, he had no reaſon either to hate or fear the burghers. Mutual intereſt, therefore, diſpoſed them to ſupport the king, and the king to ſupport them againſt the lords. They were the enemies of his enemies, and it was his intereſt to render them as ſecure and independent of thoſe enemies as he could. By granting them magiſtrates of their own, the privilege of making bye-laws for their own government, that of building walls for their own defence, and that of reducing all their inhabitants under a ſort of military diſcipline, he gave them all the means of ſecurity and independency of the barons which it was in his power to beſtow. Without the eſtabliſhment of ſome regular government of this kind, without ſome authority to compel their inhabitants to act according to ſome certain plan or ſyſtem, no voluntary league of mutual defence could either have afforded them any permanent ſecurity, or have enabled them to give the king any conſiderable ſupport. By granting them the farm of their town in fee, he took away from thoſe whom he wiſhed to have for his friends, and, if one may ſay ſo, for his allies, all ground of jealouſy and ſuſpicion that he was ever afterwards to oppreſs them, either by raiſing the farm rent of their town, or by granting it to ſome other farmer.

THE princes who lived upon the worſt terms with their barons, ſeem accordingly to have been the moſt liberal in grants of this kind to their burghs. King John of England, for example, appears to have been a moſt munificent benefactor to his towns. * Philip the Firſt of France loſt all authority over his barons. Towards the end of his reign, his ſon Lewis, known afterwards

* See Madox.

afterwards by the name of Lewis the Fat, consulted, according to Father Daniel, with the bishops of the royal demesnes, concerning the most proper means of restraining the violence of the great lords. Their advice consisted of two different proposals. One was to erect a new order of jurisdiction, by establishing magistrates and a town council in every considerable town of his demesnes. The other was to form a new militia, by making the inhabitants of those towns, under the command of their own magistrates, march out upon proper occasions to the assistance of the king. It is from this period, according to the French antiquarians, that we are to date the institution of the magistrates and councils of cities in France. It was during the unprosperous reigns of the princes of the house of Suabia that the greater part of the free towns of Germany received the first grants of their privileges, and that the famous Hanseatic league first became formidable.*

The militia of the cities seem, in those times, not to have been inferior to that of the country, and as they could be more readily assembled upon any sudden occasion, they frequently had the advantage in their disputes with the neighbouring lords. In countries, such as Italy and Switzerland, in which, on account either of their distance from the principal seat of government, of the natural strength of the country itself, or of some other reason, the sovereign came to lose the whole of his authority, the cities generally became independent republics, and conquered all the nobility in their neighbourhood; obliging them to pull down their castles in the country, and to live, like other peaceable inhabitants, in the city. This is the short history of the republic of Berne, as well as of several other cities in Switzerland.

* See Pfeffel.

land. If you except Venice, for of that city the history is somewhat different, it is the history of all the considerable Italian republics, of which so great a number arose and perished, between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

IN countries such as France or England, where the authority of the sovereign, though frequently very low, never was destroyed altogether, the cities had no opportunity of becoming entirely independent. They became, however, so considerable, that the sovereign could impose no tax upon them, besides the stated farm-rent of the town, without their own consent. They were, therefore, called upon to send deputies to the general assembly of the states of the kingdom, where they might join with the clergy and the barons in granting, upon urgent occasions, some extraordinary aid to the king. Being generally too more favourable to his power, their deputies seem, sometimes, to have been employed by him as a counterbalance in those assemblies to the authority of the great lords. Hence the origin of the representation of burghs in the states general of all the great monarchies in Europe.

ORDER and good government, and along with them the liberty and security of individuals, were, in this manner, established in cities, at a time when the occupiers of land in the country were exposed to every sort of violence. But men in this defenceless state naturally content themselves with their necessary subsistence; because to acquire more might only tempt the injustice of their oppressors. On the contrary, when they are secure of enjoying the fruits of their industry, they naturally exert it to better their condition, and to acquire not only the necessaries, but the conveniencies and elegancies of life. That industry, therefore, which aims at something more than necessary subsistence, was established in cities

long

long before it was commonly practiſed by the occupiers of land in the country. If in the hands of a poor cultivator, oppreſſed with the ſervitude of villanage, ſome little ſtock ſhould accumulate, he would naturally conceal it with great care from his maſter, to whom it would otherwiſe have belonged, and take the firſt opportunity of running away to a town. The law was at that time ſo indulgent to the inhabitants of towns, and ſo deſirous of diminiſhing the authority of the lords over thoſe of the country, that if he could conceal himſelf there from the purſuit of his lord for a year, he was free for ever. Whatever ſtock, therefore, accumulated in the hands of the induſtrious part of the inhabitants of the country, naturally took refuge in cities, as the only ſanctuaries in which it could be ſecure to the perſon that acquired it.

THE inhabitants of a city, it is true, muſt always ultimately derive their ſubſiſtence, and the whole materials and means of their induſtry, from the country. But thoſe of a city, ſituated near either the ſea-coaſt or the banks of a navigable river, are not neceſſarily confined to derive them from the country in their neighbourhood. They have a much wider range, and may draw them from the moſt remote corners of the world, either in exchange for the manufactured produce of their own induſtry, or by performing the office of carriers between diſtant countries, and exchanging the produce of one for that of another. A city might in this manner grow up to great wealth and ſplendour, while not only the country in its neighbourhood, but all thoſe to which it traded, were in poverty and wretchedneſs. Each of thoſe countries, perhaps, taken ſingly, could afford it but a ſmall part, either of its ſubſiſtence, or of its employment; but all of them taken together could afford it both a great ſubſiſtence and a great employ-

ment. There were, however, within the narrow circle of the commerce of those times, some countries that were opulent and industrious. Such was the Greek empire as long as it subsisted, and that of the Saracens during the reigns of the Abassides. Such too was Egypt till it was conquered by the Turks, some part of the coast of Barbary, and all those provinces of Spain which were under the government of the Moors.

THE cities of Italy seem to have been the first in Europe which were raised by commerce to any considerable degree of opulence. Italy lay in the center of what was at that time the improved and civilized part of the world. The crusades too, though, by the great waste of stock and destruction of inhabitants which they occasioned, they must necessarily have retarded the progress of the greater part of Europe, were extremely favourable to that of some Italian cities. The great armies which marched from all parts to the conquest of the Holy Land, gave extraordinary encouragement to the shipping of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, sometimes in transporting them thither, and always in supplying them with provisions. They were the commissaries, if one may so, of those armies; and the most destructive frenzy that ever befel the European nations, was a source of opulence to those republics.

THE inhabitants of trading cities, by importing the improved manufactures and expensive luxuries of richer countries, afforded some food to the vanity of the great proprietors, who eagerly purchased them with great quantities of the rude produce of their own lands. The commerce of a great part of Europe in those times, accordingly, consisted chiefly in the exchange of their own rude, for the manufactured produce of more civilized nations. Thus the wool of England used to be exchanged for the wines of France,

and

and the fine cloths of Flanders, in the same manner as the corn of Poland is at this day exchanged for the wines and brandies of France, and for the silks and velvets of France and Italy.

A TASTE for the finer and more improved manufactures, was in this manner introduced by foreign commerce into countries where no such works were carried on. But when this taste became so general as to occasion a considerable demand, the merchants, in order to save the expence of carriage, naturally endeavoured to establish some manufactures of the same kind in their own country. Hence the origin of the first manufactures for distant sale that seem to have been established in the western provinces of Europe, after the fall of the Roman empire.

No large country, it must be observed, ever did or could subsist without some sort of manufactures being carried on it; and when it is said of any such country that it has no manufactures, it must always be understood of the finer and more improved, or of such as are fit for distant sale. In every large country, both the clothing and household furniture of the far greater part of the people, are the produce of their own industry. This is even more universally the case in those poor countries which are commonly said to have no manufactures, than in those rich ones that are said to abound in them. In the latter, you will generally find, both in the clothes and household furniture of the lowest rank of people, a much greater proportion of foreign productions than in the former.

THOSE manufactures which are fit for distant sale, seem to have been introduced into different countries in two different ways.

SOMETIMES they have been introduced, in the manner above mentioned, by the violent operation, if one may say so, of the stocks of particular merchants and undertakers, who established them in imitation

tation of some foreign manufactures of the same kind. Such manufactures, therefore, are the offspring of foreign commerce, and such seem to have been the ancient manufactures of silks, velvets, and brocades, which flourished in Lucca during the thirteenth century. They were banished from thence by the tyranny of one of Machiavel's heroes, Castruccio Castracani. In 1310, nine hundred families were driven out of Lucca, of whom thirty-one retired to Venice, and offered to introduce there the silk manufacture.* Their offer was accepted; many privileges were conferred upon them, and they began the manufacture with three hundred workmen. Such too seem to have been the manufactures of fine cloths that anciently flourished in Flanders, and which were introduced into England in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth; and such are the present silk manufactures of Lyons and Spital-fields. Manufactures introduced in this manner are generally employed upon foreign materials, being imitations of foreign manufactures. When the Venetian manufacture was first established, the materials were all brought from Sicily and the Levant.—The more ancient manufacture of Lucca was likewise carried on with foreign materials. The cultivation of mulberry trees, and the breeding of silk worms, seem not to have been common in the northern parts of Italy before the sixteenth century. Those arts were not introduced into France till the reign of Charles IX. The manufactures of Flanders were carried on chiefly with Spanish and English wool. Spanish wool was the material, not of the first woollen manufacture of England, but of the first that was fit for distant sale. More than one half of the materials of the Lyons manufacture is at this day foreign silk; when it was first established, the whole or very nearly the whole was so.

No

* See Sandi Istoria Civile de Vinezia, Part 2. vol. i. page 247 and 256.

No part of the materials of the Spital-fields manufacture is ever likely to be the produce of England. The ſeat of ſuch manufactures, as they are generally introduced by the ſcheme and project of a few individuals, is ſometimes eſtabliſhed in a maritime city, and ſometimes in an inland town, according as their intereſt, judgment or caprice happen to determine.

At other times manufactures for diſtant ſale grow up naturally, and as it were of their own accord, by the gradual refinement of thoſe houſehold and coarſer manufactures which muſt at all times be carried on even in the pooreſt and rudeſt countries. Such manufactures are generally employed upon the materials which the country produces, and they ſeem frequently to have been firſt refined and improved in ſuch inland countries as were, not indeed at a very great, but at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea coaſt, and ſometimes even from all water carriage. An inland country, naturally fertile and eaſily cultivated, produces a great ſurplus of proviſions beyond what is neceſſary for maintaining the cultivators, and on account of the expence of land carriage, and inconveniency of river navigation, it may frequently be difficult to ſend this ſurplus abroad. Abundance, therefore, renders proviſions cheap, and encourages a great number of workmen to ſettle in the neighbourhood, who find that their induſtry can there procure them more of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life than in other places. They work up the materials of manufacture which the land produces, and exchange their finiſhed work, or what is the ſame thing the price of it, for more materials and proviſions. They give a new value to the ſurplus part of the rude produce, by ſaving the expence of carrying it to the water ſide, or to ſome diſtant market; and they furniſh the cultivators with ſomething in exchange for it that is either uſeful or agreeable to them, upon eaſier terms than they could have obtained

obtained it before. The cultivators get a better price for their ſurplus produce, and can purchaſe cheaper other conveniencies which they have occaſion for.—They are thus both encouraged and enabled to increaſe this ſurplus produce by a further improvement and better cultivation of the land; and as the fertility of the land had given birth to the manufacture, ſo the progreſs of the manufacture re-acts upon the land, and increaſes ſtill further its fertility. The manufacturers firſt ſupply the neighbourhood, and afterwards, as their work improves and refines, more diſtant markets. For though neither the rude produce, nor even the coarſe manufacture, could, without the greateſt difficulty, ſupport the expence of a conſiderable land carriage, the refined and improved manufacture eaſily may. In a ſmall bulk it frequently contains the price of a great quantity of rude produce. A piece of fine cloth, for example, which weighs only eighty pounds, contains in it, the price, not only of eighty pounds weight of wool, but ſometimes of ſeveral thouſand weight of corn, the maintenance of the different working people, and of their immediate employers. The corn, which could with difficulty be carried abroad in its own ſhape, is in this manner virtually exported in that of the complete manufacture, and may eaſily be ſent to the remoteſt corners of the world. In this manner have grown up naturally, and as it were of their own accord, the manufactures of Leeds, Halifax, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton. Such manufactures are the offſpring of agriculture. In the modern hiſtory of Europe, their extenſion and improvement have generally been poſterior to thoſe which were the offſpring of foreign commerce. England was noted for the manufacture of fine cloths made of Spaniſh wool, more than a century before any of thoſe which now flouriſh in the places above mentioned were fit for foreign ſale. The extenſion and improvement

ment of these last could not take place but in consequence of the extension and improvement of agriculture, the last and greatest effect of foreign commerce, and of the manufactures immediately introduced by it, and which I shall now proceed to explain.

CHAP. IV.

How the Commerce of the Towns contributed to the Improvement of the Country.

THE increase and riches of commercial and manufacturing towns, contributed to the improvement and cultivation of the countries to which they belonged, in three different ways.

FIRST, by affording a great and ready market for the rude produce of the country, they gave encouragement to its cultivation and further improvement. This benefit was not even confined to the countries in which they were situated, but extended more or less to all those with which they had any dealings. To all of them they afforded a market for some part either of their rude or manufactured produce, and consequently gave some encouragement to the industry and improvement of all. Their own country, however, on account of its neighbourhood, necessarily derived the greatest benefit from this market. Its rude produce being charged with less carriage, the traders could pay the growers a better price for it, and yet afford it as cheap to the consumers as that of more distant countries.

SECONDLY, the wealth acquired by the inhabitants of cities was frequently employed in purchasing such lands as were to be sold, of which a great part would frequently be uncultivated. Merchants are commonly ambitious

ambitious of becoming country gentlemen, and when they do, they are generally the beſt of all improvers. A merchant is accuſtomed to employ his money chiefly in profitable projects; whereas a mere country gentleman is accuſtomed to employ it chiefly in expence. The one often ſees his money go from him and return to him again with a profit; the other, when he parts with it, very ſeldom expects to ſee any more of it. Thoſe different habits naturally affect their temper and diſpoſition in every ſort of buſineſs. A merchant is commonly a bold; a country gentleman, a timid undertaker. The one is not afraid to lay out at once a large capital upon the improvement of his land, when he has a probable proſpect of raiſing the value of it in proportion to the expence. The other, if he has any capital, which is not always the caſe, ſeldom ventures to employ it in this manner. If he improves at all, it is commonly not with a capital, but with what he can ſave out of his annual revenue. Whoever has had the fortune to live in a mercantile town ſituated in an unimproved country, muſt have frequently obſerved how much more ſpirited the operations of merchants were in this way, than thoſe of mere country gentlemen. The habits, beſides, of order, œconomy and attention, to which mercantile buſineſs naturally forms a merchant, render him much fitter to execute, with profit and ſucceſs, any project of improvement.

THIRDLY, and laſtly, commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government, and with them, the liberty and ſecurity of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived almoſt in a continual ſtate of war with their neighbours, and of ſervile dependency upon their ſuperiors. This, though it has been the leaſt obſerved, is by far the moſt important of all their effects. Mr. Hume

Hume is the only writer who, so far as I know, has hitherto taken notice of it.

In a country which has neither foreign commerce, nor any of the finer manufactures, a great proprietor, having nothing for which he can exchange the greater part of the produce of his lands which is over and above the maintenance of the cultivators, consumes the whole in rustic hospitality at home. If this surplus produce is sufficient to maintain a hundred or a thousand men, he can make use of it in no other way than by maintaining a hundred or a thousand men. He is at all times, therefore, surrounded with a multitude of retainers and dependents, who having no equivalent to give in return for their maintenance, but being fed entirely by his bounty, must obey him, for the same reason that soldiers must obey the prince who pays them. Before the extension of commerce and manufactures in Europe, the hospitality of the rich and the great, from the sovereign down to the smallest baron, exceeded every thing which in the present times we can easily form a notion of. Westminster hall was the dining-room of William Rufus, and might frequently, perhaps, not be too large for his company. It was reckoned a piece of magnificence in Thomas Becket, that he strowed the floor of his hall with clean hay or rushes in the season, in order that the knights and squires, who could not get seats, might not spoil their fine clothes when they sat down on the floor to eat their dinner. The great earl of Warwick is said to have entertained every day at his different manors, thirty thousand people; and though the number here may have been exaggerated, it must, however, have been very great to admit of such exaggeration. A hospitality nearly of the same kind was exercised not many years ago in many different parts of the highlands of Scotland. It seems to be common in all nations to whom commerce and

manufactures are little known. I have seen, says Doctor Pocock, an Arabian chief dine in the streets of a town where he had come to sell his cattle, and invite all passengers, even common beggars, to sit down with him and partake of his banquet.

THE occupiers of land were in every respect as dependent upon the great proprietor as his retainers. Even such of them as were not in a state of villanage, were tenants at will, who paid a rent in no respect equivalent to the subsistence which the land afforded them. A crown, half a crown, a sheep, a lamb, was some years ago in the highlands of Scotland a common rent for lands which maintained a family. In some places it is so at this day; nor will money at present purchase a greater quantity of commodities there than in other places. In a country where the surplus produce of a large estate must be consumed upon the estate itself, it will frequently be more convenient for the proprietor, that part of it be consumed at a distance from his own house, provided they who consume it are as dependent upon him as either his retainers or his menial servants. He is thereby saved from the embarrassment of either too large a company or too large a family. A tenant at will, who possesses land sufficient to maintain his family for little more than a quit-rent, is as dependent upon the proprietor as any servant or retainer whatever, and must obey him with as little reserve. Such a proprietor, as he feeds his servants and retainers at his own house, so he feeds his tenants at their houses. The subsistence of both is derived from his bounty, and its continuance depends upon his good pleasure.

UPON the authority which the great proprietors necessarily had in such a state of things over their tenants and retainers, was founded the power of the ancient barons. They necessarily became the judges in peace, and the leaders in war, of all who dwelt upon

upon their eſtates. They could maintain order and execute the law within their reſpective demeſnes, becauſe each of them could thereturn the whole force of all the inhabitants againſt the injuſtice of any one. No other perſon had ſufficient authority to do this. The king in particular had not. In thoſe ancient times he was little more than the greateſt proprietor in his dominions, to whom, for the ſake of common defence againſt their common enemies, the other great proprietors paid certain reſpects. To have enforced payment of a ſmall debt within the lands of a great proprietor, where all the inhabitants were armed and accuſtomed to ſtand by one another, would have coſt the king, had he attempted it by his own authority, almoſt the ſame effort as to extinguiſh a civil war. He was, therefore, obliged to abandon the adminiſtration of juſtice through the greater part of the country, to thoſe who were capable of adminiſtering it; and for the ſame reaſon to leave the command of the country militia to thoſe whom that militia would obey.

It is a miſtake to imagine that thoſe territorial juriſdictions took their origin from the feudal law.—Not only the higheſt juriſdictions both civil and criminal, but the power of levying troops, of coining money, and even that of making bye laws for the government of their own people, were all rights poſſeſſed allodially by the great proprietors of land ſeveral centuries before even the name of the feudal law was known in Europe. The authority and juriſdiction of the Saxon lords in England, appear to have been as great before the conqueſt, as that of any of the Norman lords after it. But the feudal law is not ſuppoſed to have become the common law of England till after the conqueſt. That the moſt extenſive authority and juriſdictions were poſſeſſed by the great lords in France allodially, long before the feudal law

was

was introduced into that country, is a matter of fact that admits of no doubt. That authority and thoſe juriſdictions all neceſſarily flowed from the ſtate of property and manners juſt now deſcribed. Without re-mounting to the remote antiquities of either the French or Engliſh monarchies, we may find in much later times many proofs that ſuch effects muſt always flow from ſuch cauſes. It is not thirty years ago ſince Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, a gentleman of Lochaber in Scotland, without any legal warrant whatever, not being what was then called a lord of regality, nor even a tenant in chief, but a vaſſal of the duke of Argyle, and without being ſo much as a juſtice of peace, uſed, notwithſtanding, to exerciſe the higheſt criminal juriſdiction over his own people. He is ſaid to have done ſo with great equity, though without any of the formalities of juſtice; and it is not improbable that the ſtate of that part of the country at that time made it neceſſary for him to aſſume this authority in order to maintain the public peace. That gentleman, whoſe rent never exceeded five hundred pounds a year, carried, in 1745, eight hundred of his own people into the rebellion with him.

THE introduction of the feudal law, ſo far from extending, may be regarded as an attempt to moderate the authority of the great allodial lords. It eſtabliſhed a regular ſubordination, accompanied with a long train of ſervices and duties, from the king down to the ſmalleſt proprietor. During the minority of the proprietor, the rent, together with the management of his lands, fell into the hands of his immediate ſuperior, and, conſequently, thoſe of all great proprietors into the hands of the king, who was charged with the maintenance and education of the pupil, and who, from his authority as guardian, was ſuppoſed to have a right of diſpoſing of him in marriage, provided

provided it was in a manner not unſuitable to his rank. But tho' this inſtitution neceſſarily tended to ſtrengthen the authority of the king, and to weaken that of the great proprietors, it could not do either ſufficiently for eſtabliſhing order and good government among the inhabitants of the country; becauſe it could not alter ſufficiently that ſtate of property and manners from which the diſorders aroſe. The authority of government ſtill continued to be, as before, too weak in the head and too ſtrong in the inferior members, and the exceſſive ſtrength of the inferior members was the cauſe of the weakneſs in the head. After the inſtitution of feudal ſubordination, the king was as incapable of reſtraining the violence of the great lords as before. They ſtill continued to make war according to their own diſcretion, almoſt continually upon one another, and very frequently upon the king; and the open country ſtill continued to be a ſcene of violence, rapine, and diſorder.

BUT what all the violence of the feudal inſtitutions could never have effected, the ſilent and inſenſible operation of foreign commerce and manufactures gradually brought about. Theſe gradually furniſhed the great proprietors with ſomething for which they could exchange the whole ſurplus produce of their lands, and which they could conſume themſelves, without ſharing it either with tenants or retainers. All for ourſelves, and nothing for other people, ſeems, in every age of the world, to have been the vile maxim of the maſters of mankind. As ſoon, therefore, as they could find a method of conſuming the whole value of their rents themſelves, they had no diſpoſition to ſhare them with any other perſons. For a pair of diamond buckles perhaps, or for ſomething as frivolous and uſeleſs, they exchanged the maintenance, or what is the ſame thing, the price of the maintenance of a thouſand men for a year, and with

it the whole weight and authority which it could give them. The buckles, however, were to be all their own, and no other human creature was to have any ſhare of them; whereas in the more ancient method of expence they muſt have ſhared with at leaſt a thouſand people. With the judges that were to determine the preference, this difference was perfectly deciſive; and thus, for the gratification of the moſt childiſh, the meaneſt and the moſt ſordid of all vanities, they gradually bartered their whole power and authority.

IN a country where there is no foreign commerce, nor any of the finer manufactures, a man of ten thouſand a year cannot well employ his revenue in any other way than in maintaining, perhaps, a thouſand families, who are all of them neceſſarily at his command. In the preſent ſtate of Europe, a man of ten thouſand a year can ſpend his whole revenue, and he generally does ſo, without directly maintaining twenty people, or being able to command more than ten footmen not worth the commanding. Indirectly, perhaps, he maintains as great or even a greater number of people than he could have done by the ancient method of expence. For though the quantity of precious productions for which he exchanges his whole revenue be very ſmall, the number of workmen employed in collecting and preparing it, muſt neceſſarily have been very great. Its great price generally ariſes from the wages of their labour, and the profits of all their immediate employers. By paying that price he indirectly pays all thoſe wages and profits, and thus indirectly contributes to the maintenance of all the workmen and their employers. He generally contributes, however, but a very ſmall proportion to that of each, to very few perhaps a tenth, to many not a hundredth, and to ſome not a thouſandth, nor even a ten thouſandth part of their whole

whole annual maintenance. Though he contributes, therefore, to the maintenance of them all, they are all more or less independent of him, because generally they can all be maintained without him.

When the great proprietors of land spend their rents in maintaining their tenants and retainers, each of them maintains entirely all his own tenants and all his own retainers. But when they spend them in maintaining tradesmen and artificers, they may, all of them taken together, perhaps, maintain as great, or, on account of the waste which attends rustic hospitality, a greater number of people than before. Each of them, however, taken singly, contributes often but a very small share to the maintenance of any individual of this greater number. Each tradesman or artificer derives his subsistence from the employment, not of one, but of a hundred or a thousand different customers. Though in some measure obliged to them all, therefore, he is not absolutely dependent upon any one of them.

The personal expence of the great proprietors having in this manner gradually increased, it was impossible that the number of their retainers should not as gradually diminish, till they were at last dismissed altogether. The same cause gradually led them to dismiss the unnecessary part of their tenants. Farms were enlarged, and the occupiers of land, notwithstanding the complaints of depopulation, reduced to the number necessary for cultivating it, according to the imperfect state of cultivation and improvement in those times. By the removal of the unnecessary mouths, and by exacting from the farmer the full value of the farm, a greater surplus, or what is the same thing, the price of a greater surplus, was obtained for the proprietor, which the merchants and manufacturers soon furnished him with a method of spending upon his own person in the same manner as

as he had done the reſt. The ſame cauſe continuing to operate, he was deſirous to raiſe his rents above what his lands, in the actual ſtate of their improvement, could afford. His tenants could agree to this upon one condition only, that they ſhould be ſecured in their poſſeſſion, for ſuch a term of years as might give them time to recover with profit whatever they ſhould lay out in the further improvement of the land. The expenſive vanity of the landlord made him willing to accept of this condition; and hence the origin of long leaſes.

EVEN a tenant at will, who pays the full value of the land, is not altogether dependent upon the landlord. The pecuniary advantages which they receive from one another, are mutual and equal, and ſuch a tenant will expoſe neither his life nor his fortune in the ſervice of the proprietor. But if he has a leaſe for a long term of years, he is altogether independent; and his landlord muſt not expect from him even the moſt trifling ſervice beyond what is either expreſsly ſtipulated in the leaſe, or impoſed upon him by the common and known law of the country.

THE tenants having in this manner become independent, and the retainers being diſmiſſed, the great proprietors were no longer capable of interrupting the regular execution of juſtice, or of diſturbing the peace of the country. Having ſold their birth-right, not like Eſau for a meſs of pottage in time of hunger and neceſſity, but in the wantonneſs of plenty, for trinkets and baubles, fitter to be the play-things of children than the ſerious purſuits of men, they became as inſignificant as any ſubſtantial burgher or tradeſman in a city. A regular government was eſtabliſhed in the country as well as in the city, nobody having ſufficient power to diſturb its operations in the one, any more than in the other.

IT does not, perhaps, relate to the preſent ſubject,

ject, but I cannot help remarking it, that very old families, such as have possessed some considerable estate from father to son for many successive generations, are very rare in commercial countries. In countries which have little commerce, on the contrary, such as Wales or the highlands of Scotland, they are very common. The Arabian histories seem to be all full of genealogies, and there is a history written by a Tartar Khan, which has been translated into several European languages, and which contains scarce any thing else; a proof that ancient families are very common among those nations. In countries where a rich man can spend his revenue in no other way than by maintaining as many people as it can maintain, he is not apt to run out, and his benevolence it seems is seldom so violent as to attempt to maintain more than he can afford. But where he can spend the greatest revenue upon his own person, he frequently has no bounds to his expence, because he frequently has no bounds to his vanity, or to his affection for his own person. In commercial countries, therefore, riches, in spite of the most violent regulations of law to prevent their dissipation, very seldom remain long in the same family. Among simple nations, on the contrary, they frequently do without any regulations of law; for among nations of shepherds, such as the Tartars and Arabs, the consumable nature of their property necessarily renders all such regulations impossible.

A REVOLUTION of the greatest importance to the public happiness, was in this manner brought about by two different orders of people, who had not the least intention to serve the public. To gratify the most childish vanity was the sole motive of the great proprietors. The merchants and artificers, much less ridiculous, acted merely from a view to their own interest, and in pursuit of their own pedlar principle of turning

turning a penny wherever a penny was to be got.—Neither of them had either knowledge or foreſight of that great revolution which the folly of the one, and the induſtry of the other, was gradually bringing about.

IT is thus that through the greater part of Europe the commerce and manufactures of cities, inſtead of being the effect, have been the cauſe and occaſion of the improvement and cultivation of the country.

THIS order, however, being contrary to the natural courſe of things, is neceſſarily both ſlow and uncertain. Compare the ſlow progreſs of thoſe European countries of which the wealth depends very much upon their commerce and manufactures, with the rapid advances of our North American colonies, of which the wealth is founded altogether in agriculture. Through the greater part of Europe, the number of inhabitants is not ſuppoſed to double in leſs than five hundred years. In ſeveral of our North American colonies, it is found to double in twenty or five-and-twenty years. In Europe, the law of primogeniture, and perpetuities of different kinds, prevent the diviſion of great eſtates, and thereby hinder the multiplication of ſmall proprietors. A ſmall proprietor, however, who knows every part of his little territory, who views it with all the affection which property, eſpecially ſmall property, naturally inſpires, and who upon that account takes pleaſure not only in cultivating but in adorning it, is generally of all improvers the moſt induſtrious, the moſt intelligent, and the moſt ſucceſsful. The ſame regulations, beſides, keep ſo much land out of the market, that there are always more capitals to buy than there is land to ſell, ſo that what is ſold always ſells at a monopoly price. The rent never pays the intereſt of the purchaſe-money, and is beſides burdened with repairs and other occaſional charges, to which the intereſt of money is not liable. To purchaſe land is every-where in Europe a moſt unprofitable

unprofitable employment of a small capital. For the sake of the superior security, indeed, a man of moderate circumstances, when he retires from business, will sometimes chuse to lay out his little capital in land. A man of profession too, whose revenue is derived from another source, often loves to secure his savings in the same way. But a young man, who, instead of applying to trade or to some profession, should employ a capital of two or three thousand pounds in the purchase and cultivation of a small piece of land, might indeed expect to live very happily, and very independently, but must bid adieu, for ever, to all hope of either great fortune or great illustration, which by a different employment of his stock he might have had the same chance of acquiring with other people. Such a person too, though he cannot aspire at being a proprietor, will often disdain to be a farmer. The small quantity of land, therefore, which is brought to market, and the high price of what is brought thither, prevents a great number of capitals from being employed in its cultivation and improvement which would otherwise have taken that direction. In North America, on the contrary, fifty or sixty pounds is often found a sufficient stock to begin a plantation with. The purchase and improvement of uncultivated land, is there the most profitable employment of the smallest as well as of the greatest capitals, and the most direct road to all the fortune and illustration which can be acquired in that country. Such land, indeed, is in North America to be had almost for nothing, or at a price much below the value of the natural produce; a thing impossible in Europe, or, indeed, in any country where all lands have long been private property. If landed estates, however, were divided equally among all the children upon the death of any proprietor who left a numerous family, the estate would generally be sold. So much land would come

to

to market, that it could no longer ſell at a monopoly price. The free rent to the land would go nearer to pay the intereſt of the purchaſe-money, and a ſmall capital might be employed in purchaſing land as profitably as in any other way.

ENGLAND, on account of the natural fertility of the ſoil, of the great extent of the ſea-coaſt in proportion to that of the whole country, and of the many navigable rivers which run through it, and afford the conveniency of water carriage to ſome of the moſt inland parts of it, is perhaps as well fitted by nature as any large country in Europe, to be the ſeat of foreign commerce, of manufactures for diſtant ſale, and of all the improvements which theſe can occaſion. From the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth too, the Engliſh legiſlature has been peculiarly attentive to the intereſts of commerce and manufactures; and in reality there is no country in Europe, Holland itſelf not excepted, of which the law is, upon the whole, more favourable to this ſort of induſtry. Commerce and manufactures have accordingly been continually advancing during all this period. The cultivation and improvement of the country has, no doubt, been gradually advancing too: But it ſeems to have followed ſlowly, and at a diſtance, the more rapid progreſs of commerce and manufactures. The greater part of the country muſt probably have been uncultivated before the reign of Elizabeth; and a very great part of it ſtill remains uncultivated, and the cultivation of the far greater part, much inferior to what it might be. The law of England, however, favours agriculture not only indirectly by the protection of commerce, but by ſeveral direct encouragements.—Except in times of ſcarcity, the exportation of corn is not only free, but encouraged by a bounty. In times of moderate plenty, the importation of foreign corn is loaded with duties that amount to a prohibition.

The

The importation of live cattle, except from Ireland, is prohibited at all times, and it is but of late that it was permitted from thence. Thoſe who cultivate the land, therefore, have a monopoly againſt their countrymen for the two greateſt and moſt important articles of land produce, bread and butcher's-meat. Theſe encouragements, though at bottom, perhaps, as I ſhall endeavour to ſhow hereafter, altogether illuſory, ſufficiently demonſtrate at leaſt the good intention of the legiſlature to favour agriculture. But what is of much more importance than all of them, the yeomanry of England are rendered as ſecure, as independent, and as reſpectable as law can make them. No country, therefore, in which the right of primogeniture takes place, which pays tithes, and where perpetuities, though contrary to the ſpirit of the law, are admitted in ſome caſes, can give more encouragement to agriculture than England. Such, however, notwithſtanding, is the ſtate of its cultivation. What would it have been, had the law given no direct encouragement to agriculture beſides what ariſes indirectly from the progreſs of commerce, and had left the yeomanry in the ſame condition as in moſt other countries of Europe? It is now more than two hundred years ſince the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, a period as long as the courſe of human proſperity uſually endures.

FRANCE ſeems to have had a conſiderable ſhare of foreign commerce near a century before England was diſtinguiſhed as a commercial country. The marine of France was conſiderable, according to the notions of the times, before the expedition of Charles the VIIIth to Naples. The cultivation and improvement of France, however, is, upon the whole, inferior to that of England. The law of the country has never given the ſame direct encouragement to agriculture.

THE foreign commerce of Spain and Portugal to the other parts of Europe, though chiefly carried on in foreign ſhips, is very conſiderable. That to their colonies is carried on in their own, and is much greater, on account of the great riches and extent of thoſe colonies. But it has never introduced any conſiderable manufactures for diſtant ſale into either of thoſe countries, and the greater part of both ſtill remains uncultivated. The foreign commerce of Portugal is of older ſtanding than that of any great country in Europe, except Italy.

ITALY is the only great country of Europe which ſeems to have been cultivated and improved in every part by means of foreign commerce and manufactures for diſtant ſale. Before the invaſion of Charles the VIIIth, Italy, according to Guicciardin, was cultivated not leſs in the moſt mountainous and barren parts of the country, than in the plaineſt and moſt fertile. The advantageous ſituation of the country, and the great number of independent ſtates which at that time ſubſiſted in it, probably contributed not a little to this general cultivation. It is not impoſſible too, notwithſtanding this general expreſſion of one of the moſt judicious and reſerved of modern hiſtorians, that Italy was not at that time better cultivated than England is at preſent.

THE capital, however, that is acquired to any country by commerce and manufactures, is all a very precarious and uncertain poſſeſſion, till ſome part of it has been ſecured and realized in the cultivation and improvement of its lands. A merchant, it has been ſaid very properly, is not neceſſarily the citizen of any particular country. It is in a great meaſure indifferent to him from what place he carries on his trade; and a very trifling diſguſt will make him remove his capital, and together with it all the induſtry which it ſupports, from one country to another. No part of it can

can be ſaid to belong to any particular country, till it has been ſpread as it were over the face of that country, either in buildings, or in the laſting improvement of lands. No veſtige now remains of the great wealth, ſaid to have been poſſeſſed by the greater part of the Hans towns, except in the obſcure hiſtories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is even uncertain where ſome of them were ſituated, or to what towns in Europe the Latin names given to ſome of them belong. But though the misfortunes of Italy in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the ſixteenth centuries greatly diminiſhed the commerce and manufactures of the cities of Lombardy and Tuſcany, thoſe countries ſtill continue to be among the moſt populous and beſt cultivated in Europe. The civil wars of Flanders, and the Spaniſh government which ſucceeded them, chaſed away the great commerce of Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges. But Flanders ſtill continues to be one of the richeſt, beſt cultivated, and moſt populous provinces of Europe. The ordinary revolutions of war and government eaſily dry up the ſources of that wealth which ariſes from commerce only. That which ariſes from the more ſolid improvements of agriculture, is much more durable, and cannot be deſtroyed but by thoſe more violent convulſions occaſioned by the depredations of hoſtile and barbarous nations continued for a century or two together; ſuch as thoſe that happened for ſome time before and after the fall of the Roman empire in the weſtern provinces of Europe.

BOOK IV.

Of Syſtems of political Œconomy.

INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL œconomy, conſidered as a branch of the ſcience of a ſtateſman or legiſlator, propoſes two diſtinct objects: firſt, to provide a plentiful revenue or ſubſiſtence for the people, or more properly to enable them to provide ſuch a revenue or ſubſiſtence for themſelves; and, ſecondly, to ſupply the ſtate or commonwealth with a revenue ſufficient for the public ſervices. It propoſes to enrich both the people and the ſovereign.

THE different progreſs of opulence in different ages and nations, has given occaſion to two different ſyſtems of political œconomy, with regard to enriching the people. The one may be called the ſyſtem of commerce, the other that of agriculture. I ſhall endeavour to explain both as fully and diſtinctly as I can, and ſhall begin with the ſyſtem of commerce. It is the modern ſyſtem, and is beſt underſtood in our own country and in our own times.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Principle of the commercial, or mercantile Syſtem.

THAT wealth conſiſts in money, or in gold and ſilver, is a popular notion which naturally ariſes from the double function of money, as the inſtrument of commerce, and as the meaſure of value. In conſequence of its being the inſtrument of commerce, when we have money we can more readily obtain whatever elſe we have occaſion for, than by means of any other commodity. The great affair, we always find, is to get money. When that is obtained, there is no difficulty in making any ſubſequent purchaſe. In conſequence of its being the meaſure of value, we eſtimate that of all other commodities by the quantity of money which they will exchange for. We ſay of a rich man that he is worth a great deal, and of a poor man that he is worth very little money. A frugal man, or a man eager to be rich, is ſaid to love money; and a careleſs, a generous, or a profuſe man, is ſaid to be indifferent about it. To grow rich is to get money; and wealth and money, in ſhort, are, in common language, conſidered as in every reſpect ſynonymous.

A RICH country, in the ſame manner as a rich man, is ſuppoſed to be a country abounding in money; and to heap up gold and ſilver in any country is ſuppoſed to be the readieſt way to enrich it. For ſome time after the diſcovery of America, the firſt enquiry of the Spaniards, when they arrived upon any unknown coaſt, uſed to be, if there was any gold or ſilver to be found in the neighbourhood? By the information which they received, they judged whether it was worth while to make a ſettlement

there, or if the country was worth the conquering. Plano Carpino, a monk sent ambassador from the king of France to one of the sons of the famous Gengis Khan, says that the Tartars used frequently to ask him, if there was plenty of sheep and oxen in the kingdom of France? Their enquiry had the same object with that of the Spaniards. They wanted to know if the country was rich enough to be worth the conquering. Among the Tartars, as among all other nations of shepherds, who are generally ignorant of the use of money, cattle are the instruments of commerce and the measures of value. Wealth, therefore, according to them, consisted in cattle, as according to the Spaniards it consisted in gold and silver. Of the two, the Tartar notion, perhaps, was the nearest to the truth.

MR. Locke remarks a distinction between money and other moveable goods. All other moveable goods, he says, are of so consumable a nature that the wealth which consists in them cannot be much depended on, and a nation which abounds in them one year may, without any exportation, but merely by their own waste and extravagance, be in great want of them the next. Money, on the contrary, is a steady friend, which, though it may travel about from hand to hand, yet if it can be kept from going out of the country, is not very liable to be wasted and consumed. Gold and silver, therefore, are, according to him, the most solid and substantial part of the moveable wealth of a nation, and to multiply those metals ought, he thinks, upon that account, to be the great object of its political œconomy.

OTHERS admit that if a nation could be separated from all the world, it would be of no consequence how much, or how little money circulated in it. The consumable goods which were circulated by means of this money, would only be exchanged for a greater

a greater or a ſmaller number of pieces; but the real wealth or poverty of the country, they allow, would depend altogether upon the abundance or ſcarcity of thoſe conſumable goods. But it is otherwiſe, they think, with countries which have connections with foreign nations, and which are obliged to carry on foreign wars, and to maintain fleets and armies in diſtant countries. This, they ſay, cannot be done, but by ſending abroad money to pay them with; and a nation cannot ſend much money abroad, unleſs it has a good deal at home. Every ſuch nation, therefore, muſt endeavour in time of peace to accumulate gold and ſilver, that, when occaſion requires, it may have wherewithal to carry on foreign wars.

In conſequence of thoſe popular notions, all the different nations of Europe have ſtudied, though to little purpoſe, every poſſible means of accumulating gold and ſilver in their reſpective countries. Spain and Portugal, the proprietors of the principal mines which ſupply Europe with thoſe metals, have either prohibited their exportation under the ſevereſt penalties, or ſubjected it to a conſiderable duty. The like prohibition ſeems anciently to have made a part of the policy of moſt other European nations. It is even to be found, where we ſhould leaſt of all expect to find it, in ſome old Scotch acts of parliament, which forbid under heavy penalties the carrying gold or ſilver *forth of the kingdom*. The like policy anciently took place both in France and England.

When thoſe countries became commercial, the merchants found this prohibition, upon many occaſions, extremely inconvenient. They could frequently buy more advantageouſly with gold and ſilver than with any other commodity, the foreign goods which they wanted, either to import into their own, or to carry to ſome other foreign country. They remonſtrated,

ſtrated, therefore, againſt this prohibition as hurtful to trade.

THEY repreſented, firſt, that the exportation of gold and ſilver in order to purchaſe foreign goods, did not always diminiſh the quantity of thoſe metals in the kingdom. That, on the contrary, it might frequently increaſe that quantity; becauſe, if the conſumption of foreign goods was not thereby increaſed in the country, thoſe goods might be re-exported to foreign countries, and, being there ſold for a large profit, might bring back much more treaſure than was originally ſent out to purchaſe them. Mr. Mun compares this operation of foreign trade to the ſeed-time and harveſt of agriculture. "If we only behold," ſays he, "the actions of the huſbandman "in the ſeed-time, when he caſteth away much "good corn into the ground, we ſhall account him "rather a madman than a huſbandman. But when "we conſider his labours in the harveſt, which is "the end of his endeavours, we ſhall find the worth "and plentiful increaſe of his actions."

THEY repreſented, ſecondly, that this prohibition could not hinder the exportation of gold and ſilver, which, on account of the ſmallneſs of their bulk in proportion to their value, could eaſily be ſmuggled abroad. That this exportation could only be prevented by a proper attention to, what they called, the balance of trade. That when the country exported to a greater value than it imported, a balance became due to it from foreign nations, which was neceſſarily paid to it in gold and ſilver, and thereby increaſed the quantity of thoſe metals in the kingdom. But that when it imported to a greater value than it exported, a contrary balance became due to foreign nations, which was neceſſarily paid to them in the ſame manner, and thereby diminiſhed that quantity. That in this caſe to prohibit the exportation

tion of thoſe metals could not prevent it, but only, by making it more dangerous, render it more expenſive. That the exchange was thereby turned more againſt the country which owed the balance, than it otherwiſe might have been; the merchant who purchaſed a bill upon the foreign country being obliged to pay the banker who ſold it, not only for the natural riſk, trouble and expence of ſending the money thither, but for the extraordinary riſk ariſing from the prohibition. But that the more the exchange was againſt any country, the more the balance of trade became neceſſarily againſt it; the money of that country becoming neceſſarily of ſo much leſs value, in compariſon with that of the country to which the balance was due. That if the exchange between England and Holland, for example, was five per cent. againſt England, it would require a hundred and five ounces of ſilver in England to purchaſe a bill for a hundred ounces of ſilver in Holland: that a hundred and five ounces of ſilver in England, therefore, would be worth only a hundred ounces of ſilver in Holland, and would purchaſe only a proportionable quantity of Dutch goods: but that a hundred ounces of ſilver in Holland, on the contrary, would be worth a hundred and five ounces in England, and would purchaſe a proportionable quantity of Engliſh goods; that the Engliſh goods which were ſold to Holland would be ſold ſo much cheaper; and the Dutch goods which were ſold to England, ſo much dearer, by the difference of the exchange; that the one would draw ſo much leſs Dutch money to England, and the other ſo much more Engliſh money to Holland, as this difference amounted to: and that the balance of trade, therefore, would neceſſarily be ſo much more againſt England, and would require a greater balance of gold and ſilver to be exported to Holland.

THOSE

THOSE arguments were partly solid and partly sophistical. They were solid so far as they asserted that the exportation of gold and silver in trade might frequently be advantageous to the country. They were solid too, in asserting that no prohibition could prevent their exportation, when private people found any advantage in exporting them. But they were sophistical in supposing, that either to preserve or to augment the quantity of those metals required more the attention of government, than to preserve or to augment the quantity of any other useful commodities, which the freedom of trade, without any such attention, never fails to supply in the proper quantity. They were sophistical too, perhaps, in asserting that the high price of exchange necessarily increased, what they called the unfavourable balance of trade, or occasioned the exportation of a greater quantity of gold and silver. That high price, indeed, was extremely disadvantageous to the merchants who had any money to pay in foreign countries. They paid so much dearer for the bills which their bankers granted them upon those countries. But though the risk arising from the prohibition might occasion some extraordinary expence to the bankers, it would not necessarily carry any more money out of the country. This expence would generally be all laid out in the country, in smuggling the money out of it, and could seldom occasion the exportation of a single sixpence beyond the precise sum drawn for. The high price of exchange too would naturally dispose the merchants to endeavour to make their exports nearly balance their imports, in order that they might have this high exchange to pay upon as small a sum as possible. The high price of exchange, besides, must necessarily have operated as a tax, in raising the price of foreign goods and thereby diminishing their consumption. It would tend, therefore, not to increase, but to diminish, what they called,

called, the unfavourable balance of trade, and consequently the exportation of gold and silver.

SUCH as they were, however, those arguments convinced the people to whom they were addressed. They were addressed by merchants to parliaments, and to councils of princes, to nobles, and to country gentlemen; by those who were supposed to understand trade, to those who were conscious to themselves that they knew nothing about the matter. That foreign trade enriched the country, experience demonstrated to the nobles, and country gentlemen, as well as to the merchants; but how, or in what manner, none of them well knew. The merchants knew perfectly in what manner it enriched themselves. It was their business to know it. But to know in what manner it enriched the country, was no part of their business. This subject never came into their consideration, but when they had occasion to apply to their country for some change in the laws relating to foreign trade. It then became necessary to say something about the beneficial effects of foreign trade, and the manner in which those effects were obstructed by the laws as they then stood. To the judges who were to decide the business, it appeared a most satisfactory account of the matter, when they were told that foreign trade brought money into the country, but that the laws in question hindered it from bringing so much as it otherwise would do.—Those arguments therefore produced the wished for effect. The prohibition of exporting gold and silver was in France and England confined to the coin of those respective countries. The exportation of foreign coin and of bullion was made free. In Holland, and in some other places, this liberty was extended even to the coin of the country. The attention of government was turned away from guarding against the exportation of gold and silver, to watch over the balance of trade, as the only cause which could occasion

caſion any augmentation or diminution of thoſe metals. From one fruitleſs care it was turned away to another care much more intricate, much more embarraſſing, and juſt equally fruitleſs. The title of Mun's book, England's Treaſure in Foreign Trade, became a fundamental maxim in the political œconomy, not of England only, but of all other commercial countries. The inland or home trade, the moſt important of all, the trade in which an equal capital affords the greateſt revenue, and creates the greateſt employment to the people of the country, was conſidered as ſubſidiary only to foreign trade. It neither brought money into the country, it was ſaid, nor carried any out of it. The country therefore could never become either richer or poorer by means of it, except ſo far as its proſperity or decay might indirectly influence the ſtate of foreign trade.

A COUNTRY that has no mines of its own muſt undoubtedly draw its gold and ſilver from foreign countries, in the ſame manner as one that has no vineyards of its own muſt draw its wines. It does not ſeem neceſſary, however, that the attention of government ſhould be more turned towards the one than towards the other object. A country that has wherewithal to buy wine, will always get the wine which it has occaſion for; and a country that has wherewithal to buy gold and ſilver, will never be in want of thoſe metals. They are to be bought for a certain price like all other commodities, and as they are the price of all other commodities, ſo all other commodities are the price of thoſe metals. We truſt with perfect ſecurity that the freedom of trade, without any attention of government, will always ſupply us with the wine which we have occaſion for: and we may truſt with equal ſecurity that it will always ſupply us with all the gold and ſilver which we can afford to purchaſe or to employ, either in circulating our commodities, or in other uſes.

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THE quantity of every commodity which human induſtry can either purchaſe or produce, naturally regulates itſelf in every country according to the effectual demand, or according to the demand of thoſe who are willing to pay the whole rent, labour and profit which muſt be paid in order to prepare and bring it to market. But no commodities regulate themſelves more eaſily or more exactly according to this effectual demand than gold and ſilver; becauſe, on account of the ſmall bulk and great value of thoſe metals, no commodities can be more eaſily tranſported from one place to another, from the places where they are cheap, to thoſe where they are dear, from the places where they exceed, to thoſe where they fall ſhort of this effectual demand. If there were in England, for example, an effectual demand for an additional quantity of gold, a packet-boat could bring from Liſbon, or from wherever elſe it was to be had, fifty tuns of gold, which could be coined into more than five millions of guineas. But if there were an effectual demand for grain to the ſame value, to import it would require, at five guineas a tun, a million of tuns of ſhipping, or a thouſand ſhips of a thouſand tuns each. The navy of England would not be ſufficient.

WHEN the quantity of gold and ſilver imported into any country exceeds the effectual demand, no vigilance of government can prevent their exportation. All the ſanguinary laws of Spain and Portugal are not able to keep their gold and ſilver at home. The continual importations from Peru and Brazil exceed the effectual demand of thoſe countries, and ſink the price of thoſe metals there below that in the neighbouring countries. If, on the contrary, in any particular country their quantity fell ſhort of the effectual demand, ſo as to raiſe their price above that of the neighbouring countries, the government would have no occaſion to take any pains to import them. If it

were even to take pains to prevent their importation, it would not be able to effectuate it. Thoſe metals, when the Spartans had got wherewithal to purchaſe them, broke through all the barriers which the laws of Lycurgus oppoſed to their entrance into Lacedemon. All the ſanguinary laws of the cuſtoms are not able to prevent the importation of the teas of the Dutch and Gottenburgh Eaſt India companies; becauſe ſomewhat cheaper than thoſe of the Britiſh company. A pound of tea, however, is about a hundred times the bulk of one of the higheſt prices, ſixteen ſhillings, that is commonly paid for it in ſilver, and more than two thouſand times the bulk of the ſame price in gold, and conſequently juſt ſo many times more difficult to ſmuggle.

IT is partly owing to the eaſy tranſportation of gold and ſilver from the places where they abound to thoſe where they are wanted, that the price of thoſe metals does not fluctuate continually like that of the greater part of other commodities, which are hindered by their bulk from ſhifting their ſituation, when the market happens to be either over or under-ſtocked with them. The price of thoſe metals, indeed, is not altogether exempted from variation, but the changes to which it is liable are generally ſlow, gradual, and uniform. In Europe, for example, it is ſuppoſed, without much foundation, perhaps, that, during the courſe of the preſent and preceding century, they have been conſtantly, but gradually, ſinking in their value, on account of the continual importations from the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. But to make any ſudden change in the price of gold and ſilver, ſo as to raiſe or lower at once, ſenſibly and remarkably, the money price of all other commodities, requires ſuch a revolution in commerce as that occaſioned by the diſcovery of America.

IF, notwithſtanding all this, gold and ſilver ſhould

at any time fall ſhort in a country which has wherewithal to purchaſe them, there are more expedients for ſupplying their place, than that of almoſt any other commodity. If the materials of manufacture are wanted, induſtry muſt ſtop. If proviſions are wanted, the people muſt ſtarve. But if money is wanted, barter will ſupply its place, though with a good deal of inconveniency. Buying and ſelling upon credit, and the different dealers compenſating their credits with one another, once a month or once a year, will ſupply it with leſs inconveniency. A well-regulated paper money will ſupply it, not only without inconveniency, but, in ſome caſes, with ſome advantages. Upon every account, therefore, the attention of government never was ſo unneceſſarily employed, as when directed to watch over the preſervation or increaſe of the quantity of money in any country.

No complaint, however, is more common than that of a ſcarcity of money. Money, like wine, muſt always be ſcarce with thoſe who have neither wherewithal to buy it, nor credit to borrow it. Thoſe who have either, will ſeldom be in want either of the money, or of the wine which they have occaſion for.—This complaint, however, of the ſcarcity of money, is not always confined to improvident ſpendthrifts. It is ſometimes general through a whole mercantile town, and the country in its neighbourhood. Overtrading is the common cauſe of it. Sober men, whoſe projects have been diſproportioned to their capitals, are as likely to have neither wherewithal to buy money, nor credit to borrow it, as prodigals whoſe expence has been diſproportioned to their revenue. Before their projects can be brought to bear, their ſtock is gone, and their credit with it. They run about every-where to borrow money, and every body tells them that they have none to lend. Even ſuch general complaints of the ſcarcity of money do not always

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prove that the usual number of gold and silver pieces are not circulating in the country, but that many people want those pieces who have nothing to give for them. When the profits of trade happen to be greater than ordinary, over-trading becomes a general error both among great and small dealers. They do not always send more money abroad than usual, but they buy upon credit both at home and abroad, an unusual quantity of goods, which they send to some distant market, in hopes that the returns will come in before the demand for payment. The demand comes before the returns, and they have nothing at hand, with which they can either purchase money, or give solid security for borrowing. It is not any scarcity of gold and silver, but the difficulty which such people find in borrowing, and which their creditors find in getting payment, that occasions the general complaint of the scarcity of money.

IT would be too ridiculous to go about seriously to prove, that wealth does not consist in money, or in gold and silver; but in what money purchases, and is valuable only for purchasing. Money, no doubt, makes always a part of the national capital; but it has already been shown that it generally makes but a small part, and always the most unprofitable part of it.

IT is not because wealth consists more essentially in money than in goods, that the merchant finds it generally more easy to buy goods with money, than to buy money with goods; but because money is the known and established instrument of commerce, for which every thing is readily given in exchange, but which is not always with equal readiness to be got in exchange for every thing. The greater part of goods besides are more perishable than money, and he may frequently sustain a much greater loss by keeping them. When his goods are upon hand too,

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he is more liable to such demands for money as he may not be able to answer, than when he has got their price in his coffers. Over and above all this, his profit arises more directly from selling than from buying, and he is upon all these accounts generally much more anxious to exchange his goods for money, than his money for goods. But though a particular merchant, with abundance of goods in his warehouse, may sometimes be ruined by not being able to sell them in time, a nation or country is not liable to the same accident. The whole capital of a merchant frequently consists in perishable goods destined for purchasing money. But it is but a very small part of the annual produce of the land and labour of a country which can ever be destined for purchasing gold and silver from their neighbours. The far greater part is circulated and consumed among themselves; and even of the surplus which is sent abroad, the greater part is generally destined for the purchase of other foreign goods. Though gold and silver, therefore, could not be had in exchange for the goods destined to purchase them, the nation would not be ruined. It might, indeed, suffer some loss and inconveniency, and be forced upon some of those expedients which are necessary for supplying the place of money. The annual produce of its land and labour, however, would be the same, or very nearly the same, as usual, because the same, or very nearly the same consumable capital would be employed in maintaining it. And though goods do not always draw money so readily as money draws goods, in the long-run they draw it more necessarily than even it draws them. Goods can serve many other purposes besides purchasing money, but money can serve no other purpose besides purchasing goods. Money, therefore, necessarily runs after goods, but goods do not always or necessarily run after money. The

man who buys, does not always mean to ſell again, but frequently to uſe or to conſume; whereas he who ſells, always means to buy again. The one may frequently have done the whole, but the other can never have done more than the one-half of his buſineſs. (It is not for its own ſake that men deſire money, but for the ſake of what they can purchaſe with it.)

CONSUMABLE commodities, it is ſaid, are ſoon deſtroyed; whereas gold and ſilver are of a more durable nature, and, were it not for this continual exportation, might be accumulated for ages together, to the incredible augmentation of the real wealth of the country. Nothing, therefore, it is pretended, can be more diſadvantageous to any country, than the trade which conſiſts in the exchange of ſuch laſting for ſuch periſhable commodities. We do not, however, reckon that trade diſadvantageous which conſiſts in the exchange of the hard-ware of England for the wines of France; and yet hard-ware is a very durable commodity, and were it not for this continual exportation, might too be accumulated for ages together, to the incredible augmentation of the pots and pans of the country. But it readily occurs that the number of ſuch utenſils is in every country neceſſarily limited by the uſe which there is for them; that it would be abſurd to have more pots and pans than were neceſſary for cooking the victuals uſually conſumed there; and that if the quantity of victuals were to increaſe, the number of pots and pans would readily increaſe along with it, a part of the increaſed quantity of victuals being employed in purchaſing them, or in maintaining an additional number of workmen whoſe buſineſs it was to make them. It ſhould as readily occur that the quantity of gold and ſilver, is in every country limited by the uſe which there is for thoſe metals; that their uſe conſiſts in circulating

circulating commodities as coin, and in affording a ſpecies of houſhold furniture as plate; that the quantity of coin in every country is regulated by the value of the commodities which are to be circulated by it: increaſe that value, and immediately a part of it will be ſent abroad to purchaſe, wherever it is to be had, the additional quantity of coin requiſite for circulating them: that the quantity of plate is regulated by the number and wealth of thoſe private families who chuſe to indulge themſelves in that ſort of magnificence: increaſe the number and wealth of ſuch families, and a part of this increaſed wealth will moſt probably be employed in purchaſing, wherever it is to be found, an additional quantity of plate; that to attempt to increaſe the wealth of any country, either by introducing or by detaining in it an unneceſſary quantity of gold and ſilver, is as abſurd as it would be to attempt to increaſe the good cheer of private families, by obliging them to keep an unneceſſary number of kitchen utenſils. As the expence of purchaſing thoſe unneceſſary utenſils would diminiſh inſtead of increaſing either the quantity or goodneſs of the family proviſions; ſo the expence of purchaſing an unneceſſary quantity of gold and ſilver muſt, in every country, as neceſſarily diminiſh the wealth which feeds, clothes, and lodges, which maintains and employs the people. Gold and ſilver, whether in the ſhape of coin or of plate, are utenſils, it muſt be remembered, as much as the furniture of the kitchen. Increaſe the uſe for them, increaſe the conſumable commodities which are to be circulated, managed, and prepared by means of them, and you will infallibly increaſe the quantity; but if you attempt, by extraordinary means, to increaſe the quantity, you will as infallibly diminiſh the uſe and even the quantity too, which in thoſe metals can never be greater than what the uſe requires. Were they ever to be accumulated

accumulated beyond this quantity, their tranſportation is ſo eaſy, and the loſs which attends their lying idle and unemployed ſo great, that no law could prevent their being immediately ſent out of the country.

IT is not always neceſſary to accumulate gold and ſilver, in order to enable a country to carry on foreign wars, and to maintain fleets and armies in diſtant countries. Fleets and armies are maintained, not with gold and ſilver, but with conſumable goods. The nation which, from the annual produce of its domeſtic induſtry, from the annual revenue ariſing out of its lands, labour, and conſumable ſtock, has wherewithal to purchaſe thoſe conſumable goods in diſtant countries, can maintain foreign wars there.

A NATION may purchaſe the pay and proviſions of an army in a diſtant country three different ways; by ſending abroad either, firſt, ſome part of its accumulated gold and ſilver; or ſecondly, ſome part of the annual produce of its manufactures; or laſt of all, ſome part of its annual rude produce.

THE gold and ſilver which can properly be conſidered as accumulated or ſtored up in any country, may be diſtinguiſhed into three parts; firſt, the circulating money; ſecondly, the plate of private families; and laſt of all, the money which may have been collected by many years parſimony, and laid up in the treaſury of the prince.

IT can ſeldom happen that much can be ſpared from the circulating money of the country; becauſe in that there can ſeldom be much redundancy. The value of goods annually bought and ſold in any country requires a certain quantity of money to circulate and diſtribute them to their proper conſumers, and can give employment to no more. The channel of circulation neceſſarily draws to itſelf a ſum ſufficient to fill it, and never admits any more. Something, however, is generally withdrawn from this channel in

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the caſe of foreign war. By the great number of people who are maintained abroad, fewer are maintained at home. Fewer goods are circulated there, and leſs money becomes neceſſary to circulate them. An extraordinary quantity of paper money, of ſome ſort or other too, ſuch as exchequer notes, navy bills, and bank bills in England, is generally iſſued upon ſuch occaſions, and by ſupplying the place of circulating gold and ſilver, gives an opportunity of ſending a greater quantity of it abroad. All this, however, could afford but a poor reſource for maintaining a foreign war, of great expence and ſeveral years duration.

THE melting down the plate of private families, has upon every occaſion been found a ſtill more inſignificant one. The French in the beginning of the laſt war, did not derive ſo much advantage from this expedient as to compenſate the loſs of the faſhion.

THE accumulated treaſures of the prince have, in former times, afforded a much greater and more laſting reſource. In the preſent times, if you except the king of Pruſſia, to accumulate treaſure ſeems to be no part of the policy of European princes.

THE funds which maintained the foreign wars of the preſent century, and the moſt expenſive perhaps which hiſtory records, ſeem to have had little dependency upon the exportation either of the circulating money, or of the plate of private families, or of the treaſure of the prince. The laſt French war coſt Great Britain upwards of ninety millions, including not only the ſeventy-five millions of new debt that was contracted, but the additional two ſhillings in the pound land tax, and what was annually borrowed of the ſinking fund. More than two-thirds of this expence were laid out in diſtant countries; in Germany, Portugal, America, in the ports of the Mediterranean, in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The kings of England had

had no accumulated treaſure. We never heard of any extraordinary quantity of plate being melted down. The circulating gold and ſilver of the country had not been ſuppoſed to exceed eighteen millions. Since the late recoinage of the gold, however, it is believed to have been a good deal under-rated. Let us ſuppoſe, therefore, according to the moſt exaggerated computation which I remember to have either ſeen or heard of, that, gold and ſilver together, it amounted to thirty millions. Had the war been carried on by means of our money, the whole of it muſt, even according to this computation, have been ſent out and returned again at leaſt twice, in a period of between ſix and ſeven years. Should this be ſuppoſed, it would afford the moſt deciſive argument to demonſtrate how unneceſſary it is for government to watch over the preſervation of money, ſince upon this ſuppoſition the whole money of the country muſt have gone from it and returned to it again, two different times in ſo ſhort a period, without any body's knowing any thing of the matter. The channel of circulation, however, never appeared more empty than uſual during any part of this period. Few people wanted money who had wherewithal to pay for it. The profits of foreign trade, indeed, were greater than uſual during the whole war; but eſpecially towards the end of it. This occaſioned, what it always occaſions, a general over-trading in all the ports of Great Britain; and this again occaſioned the uſual complaint of the ſcarcity of money, which always follows over-trading. Many people wanted it, who had neither wherewithal to buy it, nor credit to borrow it; and becauſe the debtors found it difficult to borrow, the creditors found it difficult to get payment. Gold and ſilver, however, were generally to be had for their value, by thoſe who had that value to give for them.

THE enormous expence of the late war, therefore, muſt

must have been chiefly defrayed, not by the exportation of gold and silver, but by that of British commodities of some kind or other. When the government, or those who acted under them, contracted with a merchant for a remittance to some foreign country, he would naturally endeavour to pay his foreign correspondent, upon whom he had granted a bill, by sending abroad rather commodities than gold and silver. If the commodities of Great Britain were not in demand in that country, he would endeavour to send them to some other country, in which he could purchase a bill upon that country. The transportation of commodities, when properly suited to the market, is always attended with a considerable profit; whereas that of gold and silver is scarce ever attended with any. When those metals are sent abroad in order to purchase foreign commodities, the merchant's profit arises, not from the purchase, but from the sale of the returns. But when they are sent abroad merely to pay a debt, he gets no returns, and consequently no profit. He naturally, therefore, exerts his invention to find out a way of paying his foreign debts, rather by the exportation of commodities than by that of gold and silver. The great quantity of British goods exported during the course of the late war, without bringing back any returns, is accordingly remarked by the author of The Present State of the Nation.

BESIDES the three sorts of gold and silver above mentioned, there is in all great commercial countries a good deal of bullion alternately imported and exported for the purposes of foreign trade. This bullion, as it circulates among different commercial countries in the same manner as the national coin circulates in every particular country, may be considered as the money of the great mercantile republic. The national coin receives its movement and direction from the commodities circulated within the precincts of each particular

particular country: the money of the mercantile republic, from those circulated between different countries. Both are employed in facilitating exchanges, the one between different individuals of the same, the other between those of different nations. Part of this money of the great mercantile republic may have been, and probably was, employed in carrying on the late war. In time of a general war, it is natural to suppose that a movement and direction should be impressed upon it, different from what it usually follows in profound peace; that it should circulate more about the seat of war, and be more employed in purchasing there, and in the neighbouring countries, the pay and provisions of the different armies. But whatever part of this money of the mercantile republic, Great Britain may have annually employed in this manner, it must have been annually purchased, either with British commodities, or with something else that had been purchased with them; which still brings us back to commodities, to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, as the ultimate resources which enabled us to carry on the war. It is natural indeed to suppose, that so great an annual expence must have been defrayed from a great annual produce. The expence of 1761, for example, amounted to more than nineteen millions. No accumulation could have supported so great an annual profusion. There is no annual produce even of gold and silver which could have supported it. The whole gold and silver annually imported into both Spain and Portugal, according to the best accounts, does not commonly much exceed six millions sterling, which, in some years, would scarce have paid four months expence of the late war.

THE commodities most proper for being transported to distant countries, in order to purchase there, either the pay and provisions of an army, or some part

part of the money of the mercantile republic to be employed in purchasing them, seem to be the finer and more improved manufactures; such as contain a great value in a small bulk, and can, therefore, be exported to a great distance at little expence. A country whose industry produces a great annual surplus of such manufactures, which are usually exported to foreign countries, may carry on for many years a very expensive foreign war, without either exporting any considerable quantity of gold and silver, or even having any such quantity to export. A considerable part of the annual surplus of its manufactures must, indeed, in this case be exported, without bringing back any returns to the country, though it does to the merchant; the government purchasing of the merchant his bills upon foreign countries, in order to purchase there the pay and provisions of an army. Some part of this surplus, however, may still continue to bring back a return. The manufacturers, during the war, will have a double demand upon them, and be called upon, first, to work up goods to be sent abroad, for paying the bills drawn upon foreign countries for the pay and provisions of the army; and, secondly, to work up such as are necessary for purchasing the common returns that had usually been consumed in the country. In the midst of the most destructive foreign war, therefore, the greater part of manufactures may frequently flourish greatly; and, on the contrary, they may decline on the return of the peace. They may flourish amidst the ruin of their country, and begin to decay upon the return of its prosperity. The different state of many different branches of the British manufactures during the late war, and for some time after the peace, may serve as an illustration of what has been just now said.

No foreign war of great expence or duration could conveniently be carried on by the exportation of the

rude produce of the soil. The expence of sending such a quantity of it to a foreign country as might purchase the pay and provisions of an army, would be too great. Few countries too produce much more rude produce than what is sufficient for the subsistence of their own inhabitants. To send abroad any great quantity of it, therefore, would be to send abroad a part of the necessary subsistence of the people. It is otherwise with the exportation of manufactures. The maintenance of the people employed in them is kept at home, and only the surplus part of their work is exported. Mr. Hume frequently takes notice of the inability of the ancient kings of England to carry on, without interruption, any foreign war of long duration. The English, in those days, had nothing wherewithal to purchase the pay and provisions of their armies in foreign countries, but either the rude produce of the soil, of which no considerable part could be spared from the home consumption, or a few manufactures of the coarsest kind, of which, as well as of the rude produce, the transportation was too expensive. This inability did not arise from the want of money, but of the finer and more improved manufactures. Buying and selling was transacted by means of money in England then, as well as now. The quantity of circulating money must have borne the same proportion to the number and value of purchases and sales usually transacted at that time, which it does to those transacted at present; or rather it must have borne a greater proportion, because there was then no paper, which now occupies a great part of the employment of gold and silver. Among nations to whom commerce and manufactures are little known, the sovereign, upon extraordinary occasions, can seldom draw any considerable aid from his subjects, for reasons which shall be explained hereafter. It is in such countries, therefore, that he generally endeavours

deavours to accumulate a treasure, as the only resource against such emergencies. Independent of this necessity, he is in such a situation naturally disposed to the parsimony requisite for accumulation. In that simple state, the expence even of a sovereign is not directed by the vanity which delights in the gaudy finery of a court, but is employed in bounty to his tenants, and hospitality to his retainers. But, bounty and hospitality very seldom lead to extravagance; though vanity almost always does. Every Tartar chief, accordingly, has a treasure. The treasures of Mazepa, chief of the Cossacs in the Ukraine, the famous ally of Charles the XIIth, are said to have been very great. The French kings of the Merovingian race had all treasures. When they divided their kingdom among their different children, they divided their treasure too. The Saxon princes, and the first kings after the conquest, seem likewise to have accumulated treasures. The first exploit of every new reign was commonly to seize the treasure of the preceding king, as the most essential measure for securing the succession. The sovereigns of improved and commercial countries are not under the same necessity of accumulating treasures, because they can generally draw from their subjects extraordinary aids upon extraordinary occasions. They are likewise less disposed to do so. They naturally, perhaps necessarily, follow the mode of the times, and their expence comes to be regulated by the same extravagant vanity which directs that of all the other great proprietors in their dominions. The insignificant pageantry of their court becomes every day more brilliant, and the expence of it not only prevents accumulation, but frequently encroaches upon the funds destined for more necessary expences. What Dercyllidas said of the court of Persia, may be applied to that of several European princes, that he saw there much

much ſplendor but little ſtrength, and many ſervants but few ſoldiers.

THE importation of gold and ſilver is not the principal, much leſs the ſole benefit which a nation derives from its foreign trade. Between whatever places foreign trade is carried on, they all of them derive two diſtinct benefits from it. It carries out that ſurplus part of the produce of their land and labour for which there is no demand among them, and brings back in return for it ſomething elſe for which there is a demand. It gives a value to their ſuperfluities, by exchanging them for ſomething elſe, which may ſatisfy a part of their wants, and increaſe their enjoyments. By means of it, the narrowneſs of the home market does not hinder the diviſion of labour in any particular branch of art or manufacture from being carried to the higheſt perfection. By opening a more extenſive market for whatever part of the produce of their labour may exceed the home conſumption, it encourages them to improve its productive powers, and to augment its annual produce to the utmoſt, and thereby to increaſe the real revenue and wealth of the ſociety. Thoſe great and important ſervices foreign trade is continually occupied in performing, to all the different countries between which it is carried on. They all derive great benefit from it, though that in which the merchant reſides generally derives the greateſt, as he is generally more employed in ſupplying the wants, and carrying out the ſuperfluities of his own, than of any other particular country. To import the gold and ſilver which may be wanted, into the countries which have no mines, is, no doubt, a part of the buſineſs of foreign commerce. It is, however, a moſt inſignificant part of it. A country which carried on foreign trade merely upon this account, could ſcarce have occaſion to freight a ſhip in a century.

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It is not by the importation of gold and silver, that the discovery of America has enriched Europe. By the abundance of the American mines, those metals have become cheaper. A service of plate can now be purchased for about a third part of the corn, or a third part of the labour, which it would have cost in the fifteenth century. With the same annual expence of labour and commodities, Europe can annually purchase about three times the quantity of plate which it could have purchased at that time. But when a commodity comes to be sold for a third part of what had been its usual price, not only those who purchased it before can purchase three times their former quantity, but it is brought down to the level of a much greater number of purchasers, perhaps to more than ten, perhaps to more than twenty times the former number. So that there may be in Europe at present not only more than three times, but more than twenty or thirty times the quantity of plate which would have been in it, even in its present state of improvement, had the discovery of the American mines never been made. So far Europe has, no doubt, gained a real conveniency, though surely a very trifling one. The cheapness of gold and silver renders those metals rather less fit for the purposes of money than they were before. In order to make the same purchases, we must load ourselves with a greater quantity of them, and carry about a shilling in our pocket where a groat would have done before. It is difficult to say which is most trifling, this inconveniency, or the opposite conveniency. Neither the one nor the other could have made any very essential change in the state of Europe. The discovery of America, however, certainly made a most essential one. By opening a new and inexhaustible market to all the commodities of Europe, it gave occasion to new divisions of labour and improvements of art, which,

in the narrow circle of the ancient commerce, could never have taken place for want of a market to take off the greater part of their produce. The productive powers of labour were improved, and its produce increaſed in all the different countries of Europe, and together with it the real revenue and wealth of the inhabitants. The commodities of Europe were almoſt all new to America, and many of thoſe of America were new to Europe. A new ſet of exchanges, therefore, began to take place which had never been thought of before, and which ſhould naturally have proved as advantageous to the new, as it certainly did to the old continent. The ſavage injuſtice of the Europeans rendered an event, which ought to have been beneficial to all, ruinous and deſtructive to ſeveral of thoſe unfortunate countries.

THE diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, which happened much about the ſame time, opened, perhaps, a ſtill more extenſive range to foreign commerce than even that of America, notwithſtanding the greater diſtance. There were but two nations in America, in any reſpect ſuperior to ſavages, and theſe were deſtroyed almoſt as ſoon as diſcovered. The reſt were mere ſavages. But the empires of China, Indoſtan, Japan, as well as ſeveral others in the Eaſt Indies, without having richer mines of gold or ſilver, were in every other reſpect much richer, better cultivated, and more advanced in all arts and manufactures than either Mexico or Peru, even though we ſhould credit, what plainly deſerves no credit, the exaggerated accounts of the Spaniſh writers, concerning the ancient ſtate of thoſe empires. But rich and civilized nations can always exchange to a much greater value with one another, than with ſavages and barbarians. Europe, however, has hitherto derived much leſs advantage from its commerce with the Eaſt Indies, than

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from that with America. The Portugueſe monopolized the Eaſt India trade to themſelves for about a century, and it was only indirectly and through them, that the other nations of Europe could either ſend out or receive any goods from that country. When the Dutch, in the beginning of the laſt century, began to encroach upon them, they veſted their whole Eaſt India commerce in an excluſive company. The Engliſh, French, Swedes, and Danes, have all followed their example, ſo that no great nation in Europe has ever yet had the benefit of a free commerce to the Eaſt Indies. No other reaſon need be aſſigned why it has never been ſo advantageous as the trade to America, which, between almoſt every nation of Europe and its own colonies, is free to all its ſubjects. The excluſive privileges of thoſe Eaſt India companies, their great riches, the great favour and protection which theſe have procured them from their reſpective governments, have excited much envy againſt them. This envy has frequently repreſented their trade as altogether pernicious, on account of the great quantities of ſilver, which it every year exports from the countries from which it is carried on. The parties concerned have replied, that their trade, by this continual exportation of ſilver, might, indeed, tend to impoveriſh Europe in general, but not the particular country from which it was carried on; becauſe, by the exportation of a part of the returns to other European countries, it annually brought home a much greater quantity of that metal than it carried out. Both the objection and the reply are founded in the popular notion which I have been juſt now examining. It is, therefore, unneceſſary to ſay any thing further about either. By the annual exportation of ſilver to the Eaſt Indies, plate is probably ſomewhat dearer in Europe than it otherwiſe might have been; and coined ſilver probably purcha-

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ſes a larger quantity both of labour and commodities. The former of theſe two effects is a very ſmall loſs, the latter a very ſmall advantage; both too inſignificant to deſerve any part of the public attention. The trade to the Eaſt Indies, by opening a market to the commodities of Europe, or, what comes nearly to the ſame thing, to the gold and ſilver which is purchaſed with thoſe commodities, muſt neceſſarily tend to increaſe the annual production of European commodities, and conſequently the real wealth and revenue of Europe. That it has hitherto increaſed them ſo little, is probably owing to the reſtraints which it every-where labours under.

I THOUGHT it neceſſary, though at the hazard of being tedious, to examine at full length this popular notion that wealth conſiſts in money, or in gold and ſilver. Money in common language, as I have already obſerved, frequently ſignifies wealth; and this ambiguity of expreſſion has rendered this popular notion ſo familiar to us, that even they, who are convinced of its abſurdity, are very apt to forget their own principles, and in the courſe of their reaſonings to take it for granted as a certain and undeniable truth. Some of the beſt Engliſh writers upon commerce ſet out with obſerving, that the wealth of a country conſiſts, not in its gold and ſilver only, but in its lands, houſes, and conſumable goods of all different kinds. In the courſe of their reaſonings, however, the lands, houſes, and conſumable goods ſeem to ſlip out of their memory, and the ſtrain of their argument frequently ſuppoſes that all wealth conſiſts in gold and ſilver, and that to multiply thoſe metals is the great object of national induſtry and commerce.

THE two principles being eſtabliſhed, however, that wealth conſiſted in gold and ſilver, and that thoſe metals could be brought into a country which had no

mines

mines only by the balance of trade, or by exporting to a greater value than it imported; it neceſſarily became the great object of political œconomy to diminiſh as much as poſſible the importation of foreign goods for home-conſumption, and to increaſe as much as poſſible the exportation of the produce of domeſtic induſtry. Its two great engines for enriching the country, therefore, were reſtraints upon importation, and encouragements to exportation.

THE reſtraints upon importation were of two kinds.

FIRST, Reſtraints upon the importation of ſuch foreign goods for home-conſumption as could be produced at home, from whatever country they were imported.

SECONDLY, Reſtraints upon the importation of goods of almoſt all kinds from thoſe particular countries with which the balance of trade was ſuppoſed to be diſadvantageous.

THOSE different reſtraints conſiſted ſometimes in high duties, and ſometimes in abſolute prohibitions.

EXPORTATION was encouraged ſometimes by drawbacks, ſometimes by bounties, ſometimes by advantageous treaties of commerce with foreign ſtates, and ſometimes by the eſtabliſhment of colonies in diſtant countries.

DRAWBACKS were given upon two different occaſions. When the home-manufactures were ſubject to any duty or exciſe, either the whole or a part of it was frequently drawn back upon their exportation; and when foreign goods liable to a duty were imported in order to be exported again, either the whole or a part of this duty was ſometimes given back upon ſuch exportation.

BOUNTIES were given for the encouragement either of ſome beginning manufactures, or of ſuch ſorts

of

of industry of other kinds as were supposed to deserve particular favour.

BY advantageous treaties of commerce, particular privileges were procured in some foreign state for the goods and merchants of the country, beyond what were granted to those of other countries.

BY the establishment of colonies in distant countries, not only particular privileges, but a monopoly was frequently procured for the goods and merchants of the country which established them.

THE two sorts of restraints upon importation above-mentioned, together with these four encouragements to exportation, constitute the six principal means by which the commercial system proposes to increase the quantity of gold and silver in any country by turning the balance of trade in its favour. I shall consider each of them in a particular chapter, and without taking much further notice of their supposed tendency to bring money into the country, I shall examine chiefly what are likely to be the effects of each of them upon the annual produce of its industry. According as they tend either to increase or diminish the value of this annual produce, they must evidently tend either to increase or diminish the real wealth and revenue of the country.

CHAP. II.

Of Restraints upon the importation from foreign Countries of such Goods as can be produced at Home.

BY restraining, either by high duties, or by absolute prohibitions, the importation of such goods from foreign countries as can be produced at home, the monopoly of the home-market is more or less secured

to

to the domeſtic induſtry employed in producing them. Thus the prohibition of importing either live cattle or ſalt proviſions from foreign countries ſecures to the graziers of Great Britain the monopoly of the home-market for butcher's-meat. The high duties upon the importation of corn, which in times of moderate plenty amount to a prohibition, give a like advantage to the growers of that commodity. The prohibition of the importation of foreign woollens is equally favourable to the woollen manufacturers. The ſilk manufacture, though altogether employed upon foreign materials, has lately obtained the ſame advantage. The linen manufacture has not yet obtained it, but is making great ſtrides towards it. Many other ſorts of manufactures have, in the ſame manner, obtained in Great Britain, either altogether, or very nearly a monopoly againſt their countrymen. The variety of goods of which the importation into Great Britain is prohibited, either abſolutely, or under certain circumſtances, greatly exceeds what can eaſily be ſuſpected by thoſe who are not well acquainted with the laws of the cuſtoms.

THAT this monopoly of the home-market frequently gives great encouragement to that particular ſpecies of induſtry which enjoys it, and frequently turns towards that employment a greater ſhare of both the labour and ſtock of the ſociety than would otherwiſe have gone to it, cannot be doubted. But whether it tends either to increaſe the general induſtry of the ſociety, or to give it the moſt advantageous direction, is not, perhaps, altogether ſo evident.

THE general induſtry of the ſociety never can exceed what the capital of the ſociety can employ. As the number of workmen that can be kept in employment by any particular perſon muſt bear a certain proportion to his capital, ſo the number of thoſe that can be continually employed by all the members of a great

a great ſociety, muſt bear a certain proportion to the whole capital of that ſociety, and never can exceed that proportion. No regulation of commerce can increaſe the quantity of induſtry in any ſociety beyond what its capital can maintain. It can only divert a part of it into a direction into which it might not otherwiſe have gone; and it is by no means certain that this artificial direction is likely to be more advantageous to the ſociety than that into which it would have gone of its own accord.

EVERY individual is continually exerting himſelf to find out the moſt advantageous employment for whatever capital he can command. It is his own advantage, indeed, and not that of the ſociety, which he has in view. But the ſtudy of his own advantage, naturally, or rather neceſſarily leads him to prefer that employment which is moſt advantageous to the ſociety.

FIRST, every individual endeavours to employ his capital as near home as he can, and conſequently as much as he can in the ſupport of domeſtic induſtry; provided always that he can thereby obtain the ordinary, or not a great deal leſs than the ordinary profits of ſtock.

THUS, upon equal or nearly equal profits, every wholeſale merchant naturally prefers the home-trade to the foreign trade of conſumption, and the foreign trade of conſumption to the carrying trade. In the home-trade his capital is never ſo long out of his ſight as it frequently is in the foreign trade of conſumption. He can know better the character and ſituation of the perſons whom he truſts, and if he ſhould happen to be deceived, he knows better the laws of the country from which he muſt ſeek redreſs. In the carrying trade, the capital of the merchant is, as it were, divided between two foreign countries, and no part of it is ever neceſſarily brought home, or

placed

placed under his own immediate view and command. The capital which an Amſterdam merchant employs in carrying corn from Konnigſberg to Liſbon, and fruit and wine from Liſbon to Konnigſberg, muſt generally be the one half of it at Konnigſberg and the other half at Liſbon. No part of it need ever come to Amſterdam. The natural reſidence of ſuch a merchant ſhould either be at Konnigſberg or Liſbon, and it can only be ſome very particular circumſtances which can make him prefer the reſidence of Amſterdam. The uneaſineſs, however, which he feels at being ſeparated ſo far from his capital, generally determines him to bring part both of the Konniſberg goods which he deſtines for the market of Liſbon, and of the Liſbon goods which he deſtines for that of Konnigſberg, to Amſterdam: and though this neceſſarily ſubjects him to a double charge of loading and unloading, as well as to the payment of ſome duties and cuſtoms, yet for the ſake of having ſome part of his capital always under his own view and command, he willingly ſubmits to this extraordinary charge; and it is in this manner that every country which has any conſiderable ſhare of the carrying trade becomes always the emporium, or general market, for the goods of all the different countries whoſe trade it carries on. The merchant, in order to ſave a ſecond loading and unloading, endeavours always to ſell in the home-market as much of the goods of all thoſe different countries as he can, and thus, ſo far as he can, to convert his carrying trade into a foreign trade of conſumption. A merchant, in the ſame manner, who is engaged in the foreign trade of conſumption, when he collects goods for foreign markets, will always be glad, upon equal or nearly equal profits, to ſell as great a part of them at home as he can. He ſaves himſelf the riſk and trouble of exportation, when, ſo far as he can, he thus converts

his foreign trade of conſumption into a home-trade. Home is in this manner the center, if I may ſay ſo, round which the capitals of the inhabitants of every country are continually circulating, and towards which they are always tending, tho' by particular cauſes they may ſometimes be driven off and repelled from it towards more diſtant employments. But a capital employed in the home-trade, it has already been ſhown, neceſſarily puts into motion a greater quantity of domeſtic induſtry, and gives revenue and employment to a greater number of the inhabitants of a country, than an equal capital employed in the foreign trade of conſumption: and one employed in the foreign trade of conſumption has the ſame advantage over an equal capital employed in the carrying trade. Upon equal, or only nearly equal profits, therefore, every individual naturally inclines to employ his capital in the manner in which it is likely to afford the greateſt ſupport to domeſtic induſtry, and to give revenue and employment to the greateſt number of people of his own country.

SECONDLY, every individual who employs his capital in the ſupport of domeſtic induſtry, neceſſarily endeavours ſo to direct that induſtry, that its produce may be of the greateſt poſſible value.

THE produce of induſtry is what it adds to the ſubject or materials upon which it is employed. In proportion as the value of this produce is great or ſmall, ſo will likewiſe be the profits of the employer. But it is only for the ſake of profit that any man employs a capital in the ſupport of induſtry; and he will always, therefore, endeavour to employ it in the ſupport of that induſtry of which the produce is likely to be of the greateſt value, or to exchange for the greateſt quantity either of money or of other goods.

BUT the annual revenue of every ſociety is always preciſely equal to the exchangeable value of the whole annual

annual produce of its industry, or rather is precisely the same thing with that exchangeable value. As every individual, therefore, endeavours as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value; every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good. It is an affectation, indeed, not very common among merchants, and very few words need be employed in dissuading them from it.

What is the species of domestic industry which his capital can employ, and of which the produce is likely to be of the greatest value, every individual, it is evident, can, in his local situation, judge much better than any statesman or lawgiver can do for him. The statesman, who should attempt to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, would not only load himself with a most unnecessary attention, but assume an authority which could safely be trusted, not only to no single person, but to no council or senate whatever, and which would no-where be so dangerous as in the hands of a man who

who had folly and presumption enough to fancy himself fit to exercise it.

To give the monopoly of the home-market to the produce of domestic industry, in any particular art or manufacture, is in some measure to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, and must, in almost all cases, be either a useless or a hurtful regulation. If the produce of domestic can be brought there as cheap as that of foreign industry, the regulation is evidently useless. If it cannot, it must generally be hurtful. It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family, never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The tailor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker. The shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a tailor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers. All of them find it for their interest to employ their whole industry in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbours, and to purchase with a part of its produce, or, what is the same thing, with the price of a part of it, whatever else they have occasion for.

WHAT is prudence in the conduct of every private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage. The general industry of the country, being always in proportion to the capital which employs it, will not thereby be diminished, no more than that of the above-mentioned artificers; but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage. It is certainly not employed to the greatest advantage, when it is thus

thus directed towards an object which it can buy cheaper than it can make. The value of its annual produce is certainly more or less diminished, when it is thus turned away from producing commodities evidently of more value than the commodity which it is directed to produce. According to the supposition, that commodity could be purchased from foreign countries cheaper than it can be made at home. It could, therefore, have been purchased with a part only of the commodities, or, what is the same thing, with a part only of the price of the commodities, which the industry employed by an equal capital would have produced at home, had it been left to follow its natural course. The industry of the country, therefore, is thus turned away from a more, to a less advantageous employment, and the exchangeable value of its annual produce, instead of being increased, according to the intention of the lawgiver, must necessarily be diminished by every such regulation.

By means of such regulations, indeed, a particular manufacture may sometimes be acquired sooner than it could have been otherwise, and after a certain time may be made at home as cheap or cheaper than in the foreign country. But though the industry of the society may be thus carried with advantage into a particular channel sooner than it could have been otherwise, it will by no means follow that the sum total, either of its industry, or of its revenue, can ever be augmented by any such regulation. The industry of the society can augment only in proportion as its capital augments, and its capital can augment only in proportion to what can be gradually saved out of its revenue. But the immediate effect of every such regulation is to diminish its revenue, and what diminishes its revenue is certainly not very likely to augment its capital faster than it would

have augmented of its own accord, had both capital and induſtry been left to find out their natural employments.

THOUGH for want of ſuch regulations the ſociety ſhould never acquire the propoſed manufacture, it would not, upon that account, neceſſarily be the poorer in any one period of its duration. In every period of its duration its whole capital and induſtry might ſtill have been employed, though upon different objects, in the manner that was moſt advantageous at the time. In every period its revenue might have been the greateſt which its capital could afford, and both capital and revenue might have been augmented with the greateſt poſſible rapidity.

THE natural advantages which one country has over another in producing particular commodities are ſometimes ſo great, that it is acknowledged by all the world to be in vain to ſtruggle with them. By means of glaſſes, hot-beds, and hot-walls, very good grapes can be raiſed in Scotland, and very good wine too can be made of them at about thirty times the expence for which at leaſt equally good can be brought from foreign countries. Would it be a reaſonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of claret and burgundy in Scotland? But if there would be a manifeſt abſurdity in turning towards any employment, thirty times more of the capital and induſtry of the country, than would be neceſſary to purchaſe from foreign countries an equal quantity of the commodities wanted, there muſt be an abſurdity, though not altogether ſo glaring, yet exactly of the ſame kind, in turning towards any ſuch employment a thirtieth, or even a three hundredth part more of either. Whether the advantages which one country has over another, be natural or acquired, is in this reſpect of no conſequence. As long as the one country has thoſe advantages,

advantages, and the other wants them, it will always be more advantageous for the latter, rather to buy of the former than to make. It is an acquired advantage only, which one artificer has over his neighbour, who exercises another trade; and yet they both find it more advantageous to buy of one another, than to make what does not belong to their particular trades.

MERCHANTS and manufacturers are the people who derive the greatest advantage from this monopoly of the home-market. The prohibition of the importation of foreign cattle, and of salt provisions, together with the high duties upon foreign corn, which in times of moderate plenty amount to a prohibition, are not near so advantageous to the graziers and farmers of Great Britain, as other regulations of the same kind are to its merchants and manufacturers. Manufactures, those of the finer kind especially, are more easily transported from one country to another than corn or cattle. It is in the fetching and carrying manufactures, accordingly, that foreign trade is chiefly employed. In manufactures, a very small advantage will enable foreigners to undersell our own workmen, even in the home market. It will require a very great one to enable them to do so in the rude produce of the soil. If the free importation of foreign manufactures were permitted, several of the home manufactures would probably suffer, and some of them, perhaps, go to ruin altogether, and a considerable part of the stock and industry at present employed in them, would be forced to find out some other employment. But the freest importation of the rude produce of the soil could have no such effect upon the agriculture of the country.

IF the importation of foreign cattle, for example, were made ever so free, so few could be imported, that the grazing trade of Great Britain could be little

tle affected by it. Live cattle are, perhaps, the only commodity of which the transportation is more expensive by sea than by land. By land they carry themselves to market. By sea, not only the cattle, but their food and their water too, must be carried at no small expence and inconveniency. The short sea between Ireland and Great Britain, indeed, renders the importation of Irish cattle more easy.—But though the free importation of them, which was lately permitted only for a limited time, were rendered perpetual, it could have no considerable effect upon the interest of the graziers of Great Britain. Those parts of Great Britain which border upon the Irish sea are all grazing countries. Irish cattle could never be imported for their use; but must be drove through those very extensive countries, at no small expence and inconveniency, before they could arrive at their proper market. Fat cattle could not be drove so far. Lean cattle, therefore, only could be imported, and such importation could interfere, not with the interest of the feeding or fattening countries, to which, by reducing the price of lean cattle, it would rather be advantageous, but with that of the breeding countries only. The small number of Irish cattle imported since their importation was permitted, together with the good price at which lean cattle still continue to sell, seem to demonstrate that even the breeding countries of Great Britain are never likely to be much affected by the free importation of Irish cattle. The common people of Ireland, indeed, are said to have sometimes opposed with violence the exportation of their cattle. But if the exporters had found any great advantage in continuing the trade, they could easily, when the law was on their side, have conquered this mobbish opposition.

FEEDING and fattening countries, besides, must always be highly improved, whereas breeding countries

tries are generally uncultivated. The high price of lean cattle, by augmenting the value of uncultivated land, is like a bounty againſt improvement. To any country which was highly improved throughout, it would be more advantageous to import its lean cattle than to breed them. The province of Holland, accordingly, is ſaid to follow this maxim at preſent.—The mountains of Scotland, Wales, and Northumberland, indeed, are countries not capable of much improvement, and ſeem deſtined by nature to be the breeding countries of Great Britain. The freeſt importation of foreign cattle could have no other effect than to hinder thoſe breeding countries from taking advantage of the increaſing population and improvement of the reſt of the kingdom, from raiſing their price to an exorbitant height, and from laying a real tax upon all the more improved and cultivated parts of the country.

THE freeſt importation of ſalt proviſions, in the ſame manner, could have as little effect upon the intereſt of the graziers of Great Britain as that of live cattle. Salt proviſions are not only a very bulky commodity, but when compared with freſh meat, they are a commodity both of worſe quality, and as they coſt more labour and expence, of higher price. They could never, therefore, come into competition with the freſh meat, though they might with the ſalt proviſions of the country. They might be uſed for victualing ſhips for diſtant voyages, and ſuch like uſes, but could never make any conſiderable part of the food of the people. The ſmall quantity of ſalt proviſions imported from Ireland ſince their importation was rendered free, is an experimental proof that our graziers have nothing to apprehend from it. It does not appear that the price of butcher's-meat has ever been ſenſibly affected by it.

EVEN the free importation of foreign corn could very

very little affect the intereſt of the farmers of Great Britain. Corn is a much more bulky commodity than butcher's-meat. A pound of wheat at a penny is as dear as a pound of butcher's-meat at fourpence. The ſmall quantity of foreign corn imported even in times of the greateſt ſcarcity, may ſatisfy our farmers that they can have nothing to fear from the freeſt importation. The average quantity imported, one year with another, amounts only, according to the very well informed author of the tracts upon the corn trade, to twenty-three-thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight quarters of all ſorts of grain, and does not exceed the five hundred and ſeventy-one part of the annual conſumption. But as the bounty upon corn occaſions a greater exportation in years of plenty, ſo it muſt of conſequence occaſion a greater importation in years of ſcarcity, than in the actual ſtate of tillage would take place. By means of it, the plenty of one year does not compenſate the ſcarcity of another, and as the average quantity exported is neceſſarily augmented by it, ſo muſt likewiſe, in the actual ſtate of tillage, the average quantity imported. If there were no bounty, as leſs corn would be exported, ſo it is probable that, one year with another, leſs would be imported than at preſent. The corn merchants, the fetchers and carriers of corn between Great Britain and foreign countries, would have much leſs employment, and might ſuffer conſiderably; but the country gentlemen and farmers could ſuffer very little. It is in the corn merchants accordingly, rather than in the country gentlemen and farmers, that I have obſerved the greateſt anxiety for the renewal and continuation of the bounty.

COUNTRY gentlemen and farmers are, to their great honour, of all people, the leaſt ſubject to the wretched ſpirit of monopoly. The undertaker of a great manufactory is ſometimes alarmed if another work of the

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same kind is established within twenty miles of him. The Dutch undertaker of the woollen manufacture at Abbeville stipulated, that no work of the same kind should be established, within thirty leagues of that city. Farmers and country gentlemen, on the contrary, are generally disposed rather to promote than to obstruct the cultivation and improvement of their neighbours farms and estates. They have no secrets, such as those of the greater part of manufacturers, but are generally rather fond of communicating to their neighbours, and of extending as far as possible any new practice which they have found to be advantageous. *Pius Quæstus*, says old Cato, *stabilissimusque, minimeque invidiosus; minimeque male cogitantes sunt, qui in eo studio occupati sunt.* Country gentlemen and farmers, dispersed in different parts of the country, cannot so easily combine as merchants and manufacturers, who being collected into towns, and accustomed to that exclusive corporation spirit which prevails in them, naturally endeavour to obtain against all their countrymen, the same exclusive privilege which they generally possess against the inhabitants of their respective towns. They accordingly seem to have been the original inventors of those restraints upon the importation of foreign goods, which secure to them the monopoly of the home-market. It was probably in imitation of them, and to put themselves upon a level with those who, they found, were disposed to oppress them, that the country gentlemen and farmers of Great Britain so far forgot the generosity which is natural to their station, as to demand the exclusive privilege of supplying their countrymen with corn and butcher's-meat. They did not perhaps take time to consider, how much less their interest could be affected by the freedom of trade, than that of the people whose example they followed.

To prohibit by a perpetual law the importation of foreign corn and cattle, is in reality to enact, that the population

population and induſtry of the country ſhall at no time exceed what the rude produce of its own ſoil can maintain.

THERE ſeem, however, to be two caſes in which it will generally be advantageous to lay ſome burden upon foreign, for the encouragement of domeſtic induſtry.

THE firſt is, when ſome particular ſort of induſtry is neceſſary for the defence of the country. The defence of Great Britain, for example, depends very much upon the number of its ſailors and ſhipping. The act of navigation, therefore, very properly endeavours to give the ſailors and ſhipping of Great Britain the monopoly of the trade of their own country, in ſome caſes, by abſolute prohibitions, and in others by heavy burdens upon the ſhipping of foreign countries. The following are the principal diſpoſitions of this act.

FIRST, all ſhips, of which the owners, maſters, and three-fourths of the mariners are not Britiſh ſubjects, are prohibited, upon pain of forfeiting the ſhip and cargo, from trading to the Britiſh ſettlements and plantations, or from being employed in the coaſting trade of Great Britain.

SECONDLY, a great variety of the moſt bulky articles of importation can be brought into Great Britain only, either in ſuch ſhips as are above deſcribed, or in ſhips of the country where thoſe goods are produced, and of which the owners, maſters, and three-fourths of the mariners, are of that particular country; and when imported even in ſhips of this latter kind, they are ſubject to double aliens duty. If imported in ſhips of any other country, the penalty is forfeiture of the ſhip and goods. When this act was made, the Dutch were, what they ſtill are, the great carriers of Europe, and by this regulation they were entirely excluded from being the carriers to Great Britain

Britain, or from importing to us the goods of any other European country.

THIRDLY, a great variety of the moſt bulky articles of importation are prohibited from being imported, even in Britiſh ſhips, from any country but that in which they are produced; under pain of forfeiting ſhip and cargo. This regulation too was probably intended againſt the Dutch. Holland was then, as now, the great emporium for all European goods, and by this regulation, Britiſh ſhips were hindered from loading in Holland the goods of any other European country.

FOURTHLY, ſalt fiſh of all kinds, whale-fins, whalebone, oil, and blubber, not caught by and cured on board Britiſh veſſels, when imported into Great Britain, are ſubjected to double aliens duty. The Dutch, as they are ſtill the principal, were then the only fiſhers in Europe that attempted to ſupply foreign nations with fiſh. By this regulation, a very heavy burden was laid upon their ſupplying Great Britain.

WHEN the act of navigation was made, though England and Holland were not actually at war, the moſt violent animoſity ſubſiſted between the two nations. It had begun during the government of the long parliament, which firſt framed this act, and it broke out ſoon after in the Dutch wars during that of the Protector and of Charles the Second. It is not impoſſible, therefore, that ſome of the regulations of this famous act may have proceeded from national animoſity. They are as wiſe, however, as if they had all been dictated by the moſt deliberate wiſdom. National animoſity at that particular time aimed at the very ſame object which the moſt deliberate wiſdom would have recommended, the diminution of the naval power of Holland, the only

naval power which could endanger the security of England.

THE act of navigation is not favourable to foreign commerce, or to the growth of that opulence which can arise from it. The interest of a nation in its commercial relations to foreign nations is, like that of a merchant with regard to the different people with whom he deals, to buy as cheap and to sell as dear as possible. But it will be most likely to buy cheap, when by the most perfect freedom of trade it encourages all nations to bring to it the goods which it has occasion to purchase; and, for the same reason, it will be most likely to sell dear, when its markets are thus filled with the greatest number of buyers. The act of navigation, it is true, lays no burden upon foreign ships that come to export the produce of British industry. Even the ancient aliens duty, which used to be paid upon all goods exported as well as imported, has, by several subsequent acts, been taken off from the greater part of the articles of exportation. But if foreigners, either by prohibitions or high duties, are hindered from coming to sell, they cannot always afford to come to buy; because coming without a cargo, they must lose the freight from their own country to Great Britain. By diminishing the number of sellers, therefore, we necessarily diminish that of buyers, and are thus likely not only to buy foreign goods dearer, but to sell our own cheaper, than if there was a more perfect freedom of trade. As defence, however, is of much more importance than opulence, the act of navigation is, perhaps, the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England.

THE second case, in which it will generally be advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign for the encouragement of domestic industry, is, when some tax is imposed at home upon the produce of the

the latter. In this case, it seems reasonable that an equal tax should be imposed upon the like produce of the former. This would not give the monopoly of the home market to domestic industry, nor turn towards a particular employment a greater share of the stock and labour of the country, than what would naturally go to it. It would only hinder any part of what would naturally go to it from being turned away by the tax, into a less natural direction, and would leave the competition between foreign and domestic industry, after the tax, as nearly as possible upon the same footing as before it. In Great Britain, when any such tax is laid upon the produce of domestic industry, it is usual at the same time, in order to stop the clamorous complaints of our merchants and manufacturers, that they will be undersold at home, to lay a much heavier duty upon the importation of all foreign goods of the same kind.

THIS second limitation of the freedom of trade according to some people should, upon some occasions, be extended much farther than to the precise foreign commodities which could come into competition with those which had been taxed at home. When the necessaries of life have been taxed in any country, it becomes proper, they pretend, to tax not only the like necessaries of life imported from other countries, but all sorts of foreign goods which can come into competition with any thing that is the produce of domestic industry. Subsistence, they say, becomes necessarily dearer in consequence of such taxes; and the price of labour must always rise with the price of the labourers subsistence. Every commodity, therefore, which is the produce of domestic industry, tho' not immediately taxed itself, becomes dearer in consequence of such taxes, because the labour which produces it becomes so. Such taxes, therefore, are really equivalent, they say, to a tax upon every particular

ticular commodity produced at home. In order to put domeſtic upon the ſame footing with foreign induſtry, therefore, it becomes neceſſary, they think, to lay ſome duty upon every foreign commodity, equal to this enhancement of the price of the home commodities with which it can come into competition.

WHETHER taxes upon the neceſſaries of life, ſuch as thoſe in Great Britain upon ſoap, ſalt, leather, candles, &c. neceſſarily raiſe the price of labour, and conſequently that of all other commodities, I ſhall conſider hereafter, when I come to treat of taxes. Suppoſing, however, in the mean time, that they have this effect, and they have it undoubtedly, this general enhancement of the price of all commodities, in conſequence of that of labour, is a caſe which differs in the two following reſpects from that of a particular commodity, of which the price was enhanced by a particular tax immediately impoſed upon it.

FIRST, it might always be known with great exactneſs how far the price of ſuch a commodity could be enhanced by ſuch a tax: but how far the general enhancement of the price of labour might affect that of every different commodity about which labour was employed, could never be known with any tolerable exactneſs. It would be impoſſible, therefore, to proportion with any tolerable exactneſs the tax upon every foreign, to this enhancement of the price of every home commodity.

SECONDLY, taxes upon the neceſſaries of life have nearly the ſame effect upon the circumſtances of the people as a poor ſoil and a bad climate. Proviſions are thereby rendered dearer in the ſame manner as if it required extraordinary labour and expence to raiſe them. As in the natural ſcarcity ariſing from ſoil and climate, it would be abſurd to direct the people

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in what manner they ought to employ their capitals and induſtry, ſo is it likewiſe in the artificial ſcarcity ariſing from ſuch taxes. To be left to accommodate, as well as they could, their induſtry to their ſituation, and to find out thoſe employments in which, notwithſtanding their unfavourable circumſtances, they might have ſome advantage either in the home or in the foreign market, is what in both caſes would evidently be moſt for their advantage. To lay a new tax upon them, becauſe they are already overburdened with taxes, and becauſe they already pay too dear for the neceſſaries of life, to make them likewiſe pay too dear for the greater part of other commodities, is certainly a moſt abſurd way of making amends.

SUCH taxes, when they have grown up to a certain height, are a curſe equal to the barrenneſs of the earth and the inclemency of the heavens; and yet it is in the richeſt and moſt induſtrious countries that they have been moſt generally impoſed. No other countries could ſupport ſo great a diſorder. As the ſtrongeſt bodies only can live and enjoy health, under an unwholeſome regimen; ſo the nations only, that in every ſort of induſtry have the greateſt natural and acquired advantages, can ſubſiſt and proſper under ſuch taxes. Holland is the country in Europe in which they abound moſt, and which from peculiar circumſtances continues to proſper, not by means of them, as has been moſt abſurdly ſuppoſed, but in ſpite of them.

As there are two caſes in which it will generally be advantageous to lay ſome burden upon foreign, for the encouragement of domeſtic induſtry; ſo there are two others in which it may ſometimes be a matter of deliberation; in the one, how far it is proper to continue the free importation of certain foreign goods; and in the other, how far, or in what manner,

ner, it may be proper to reſtore that free importation after it has been for ſome time interrupted.

THE caſe in which it may ſometimes be a matter of deliberation how far it is proper to continue the free importation of certain foreign goods, is, when ſome foreign nation reſtrains by high duties or prohibitions the importation of ſome of our manufactures into their country. Revenge in this caſe naturally dictates retaliation, and that we ſhould impoſe the like duties and prohibitions upon the importation of ſome or all of their manufactures into ours. Nations, accordingly ſeldom fail to retaliate in this manner. The French have been particularly forward to favour their own manufactures by reſtraining the importation of ſuch foreign goods as could come into competition with them. In this conſiſted a great part of the policy of Mr. Colbert, who, notwithſtanding his great abilities, ſeems in this caſe to have been impoſed upon by the ſophiſtry of merchants and manufacturers, who are always demanding a monopoly againſt their countrymen. It is at preſent the opinion of the moſt intelligent men in France, that his operations of this kind have not been beneficial to his country. That miniſter, by the tarif of 1667, impoſed very high duties upon a great number of foreign manufactures. Upon his refuſing to moderate them in favour of the Dutch, they in 1671 prohibited the importation of the wines, brandies and manufactures of France. The war of 1672 ſeems to have been in part occaſioned by this commercial diſpute. The peace of Nimeguen put an end to it in 1678, by moderating ſome of thoſe duties in favour of the Dutch, who in conſequence took off their prohibition. It was about the ſame time that the French and Engliſh began mutually to oppreſs each other's induſtry, by the like duties and prohibitions, of which the French, however, ſeem to have ſet the firſt example. The ſpirit of hoſtility which has

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ſubſiſted between the two nations ever ſince, has hitherto hindered them from being moderated on either ſide. In 1697 the Engliſh prohibited the importation of bonelace, the manufacture of Flanders. The government of that country, at that time under the dominion of Spain, prohibited in return the importation of Engliſh woollens. In 1700, the prohibition of importing bonelace into England, was taken off upon condition that the importation of Engliſh woollens into Flanders ſhould be put upon the ſame footing as before.

THERE may be good policy in retaliations of this kind, when there is a probability that they will procure the repeal of the high duties or prohibitions complained of. The recovery of a great foreign market will generally more than compenſate the tranſitory inconveniency of paying dearer during a ſhort time for ſome ſorts of goods. To judge whether ſuch retaliations are likely to produce ſuch an effect, does not, perhaps, belong ſo much to the ſcience of a legiſlator whoſe deliberations ought to be governed by general principles which are always the ſame, as to the ſkill of that inſidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a ſtateſman or politician, whoſe councils are directed by the momentary fluctuations of affairs. When there is no probability that any ſuch repeal can be procured, it ſeems a bad method of compenſating the injury done to certain claſſes of our people, to do another injury ourſelves, not only to thoſe claſſes, but to almoſt all the other claſſes of them. When our neighbours prohibit ſome manufactures of ours, we generally prohibit, not only the ſame, for that alone would ſeldom affect them conſiderably, but ſome other manufacture of theirs. This may no doubt give encouragement to ſome particular claſs of workmen among ourſelves, and by excluding ſome of their rivals, may enable them to raiſe their price in the home-market. Thoſe workmen,

workmen, however, who suffered by our neighbours prohibition will not be benefited by ours. On the contrary, they and almost all the other classes of our citizens will thereby be obliged to pay dearer than before for certain goods. Every such law, therefore, imposes a real tax upon the whole country, not in favour of that particular class of workmen who were injured by our neighbours prohibition, but of some other class.

THE case in which it may sometimes be a matter of deliberation, how far, or in what manner, it is proper to restore the free importation of foreign goods, after it has been for some time interrupted, is, when particular manufactures, by means of high duties or prohibitions upon all foreign goods which can come into competition with them, have been so far extended as to employ a great multitude of hands. Humanity may in this case require that the freedom of trade should be restored only by slow gradations, and with a good deal of reserve and circumspection. Were those high duties and prohibitions taken away all at once, cheaper foreign goods of the same kind might be poured so fast into the home market, as to deprive all at once many thousands of our people of their ordinary employment and means of subsistence. The disorder which this would occasion might no doubt be very considerable. It would in all probability, however, be much less than is commonly imagined, for the two following reasons.

FIRST, all those manufactures, of which any part is commonly exported to other European countries without a bounty, could be very little affected by the freest importation of foreign goods. Such manufactures must be sold as cheap abroad as any other foreign goods of the same quality and kind, and consequently must be sold cheaper at home. They would still, therefore, keep possession of the home market, and though a capricious man of fashion might sometimes

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prefer foreign wares, merely becauſe they were foreign, to cheaper and better goods of the ſame kind that were made at home, this folly could, from the nature of things, extend to ſo few, that it could make no ſenſible impreſſion upon the general employment of the people. But a great part of all the different branches of our woollen manufacture, of our tanned leather, and of our hardware, are annually exported to other European countries without any bounty, and theſe are the manufactures which employ the greateſt number of hands. The ſilk, perhaps, is the manufacture which would ſuffer the moſt by this freedom of trade, and after it the linen, though the latter much leſs than the former.

SECONDLY, though a great number of people ſhould, by thus reſtoring the freedom of trade, be thrown all at once out of their ordinary employment and common method of ſubſiſtence, it would by no means follow that they would thereby be deprived either of employment or ſubſiſtence. By the reduction of the army and navy at the end of the late war, more than a hundred thouſand ſoldiers and ſeamen, a number equal to what is employed in the greateſt manufactures, were all at once thrown out of their ordinary employment; but though they no doubt ſuffered ſome inconveniency, they were not thereby deprived of all employment and ſubſiſtence. The greater part of the ſeamen, it is probable, gradually betook themſelves to the merchant ſervice as they could find occaſion, and in the mean time both they and the ſoldiers were abſorbed in the great maſs of people, and employed in a great variety of occupations. Not only no great convulſion, but no ſenſible diſorder aroſe from ſo great a change in the ſituation of more than a hundred thouſand men, all accuſtomed to the uſe of arms, and many of them to rapine and plunder. The number of vagrants was ſcarce any-where ſenſibly increaſed

creaſed by it, even the wages of labour were not reduced by it in any occupation, ſo far as I have been able to learn, except in that of ſeamen in the merchant ſervice. But if we compare together the habits of a ſoldier and of any ſort of manufacturer, we ſhall find that thoſe of the latter do not tend ſo much to diſqualify him from being employed in a new trade, as thoſe of the former from being employed in any. The manufacturer has always been accuſtomed to look for his ſubſiſtence from his labour only: the ſoldier to expect it from his pay. Application and induſtry have been familiar to the one; idleneſs and diſſipation to the other. But ſurely it is much eaſier to change the direction of induſtry from one ſort of labour to another, than to turn idleneſs and diſſipation to any. To the greater part of manufactures, beſides, it has already been obſerved, there are other collateral manufactures of ſo ſimilar a nature, that a workman can eaſily transfer his induſtry from one of them to another. The greater part of ſuch workmen too are occaſionally employed in country labour. The ſtock which employed them in a particular manufacture before, will ſtill remain in the country to employ an equal number of people in ſome other way. The capital of the country remaining the ſame, the demand for labour will likewiſe be the ſame, or very nearly the ſame, though it may be exerted in different places and for different occupations. Soldiers and ſeamen, indeed, when diſcharged from the king's ſervice, are at liberty to exerciſe any trade, within any town or place of Great Britain or Ireland. Let the ſame natural liberty of exerciſing what ſpecies of induſtry they pleaſe, be reſtored to all his majeſty's ſubjects, in the ſame manner as to ſoldiers and ſeamen; that is, break down the excluſive privileges of corporations, and repeal the ſtatute of apprenticeſhip, both which are real encroachments upon natural liberty,

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and add to these the repeal of the law of settlements, so that a poor workman, when thrown out of employment in one trade or in one place, may seek for it in another trade or in another place, without the fear either of a prosecution or of a removal, and neither the public nor the individuals will suffer much more from the occasional disbanding some particular classes of manufacturers, than from that of soldiers. Our manufacturers have no doubt great merit with their country, but they cannot have more than those who defend it with their blood, nor deserve to be treated with more delicacy.

To expect, indeed, that the freedom of trade should ever be entirely restored in Great Britain, is as absurd as to expect that an Oceana or Utopia should ever be established in it. Not only the prejudices of the public, but what is much more unconquerable, the private interests of many individuals, irresistibly oppose it. Were the officers of the army to oppose with the same zeal and unanimity any reduction in the number of forces, with which master manufacturers set themselves against every law that is likely to increase the number of their rivals in the home market; were the former to animate their soldiers, in the same manner as the latter enflame their workmen, to attack with violence and outrage the proposers of any such regulation; to attempt to reduce the army would be as dangerous as it has now become to attempt to diminish in any respect the monopoly which our manufacturers have obtained against us. This monopoly has so much increased the number of some particular tribes of them, that, like an overgrown standing army, they have become formidable to the government, and upon many occasions intimidate the legislature. The member of parliament who supports every proposal for strengthening this monopoly, is sure to acquire

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not only the reputation of underſtanding trade, but great popularity and influence with an order of men whoſe numbers and wealth render them of great importance. If he oppoſes them, on the contrary, and ſtill more if he has authority enough to be able to thwart them, neither the moſt acknowledged probity, nor the higheſt rank, nor the greateſt public ſervices can protect him from the moſt infamous abuſe and detraction, from perſonal inſults, nor ſometimes from real danger, ariſing from the inſolent outrage of furious and diſappointed monopoliſts.

THE undertaker of a great manufacture who, by the home markets being ſuddenly laid open to the competition of foreigners, ſhould be obliged to abandon his trade, would no doubt ſuffer very conſiderably. That part of his capital which had uſually been employed in purchaſing materials and in paying his workmen, might, without much difficulty, perhaps, find another employment. But that part of it which was fixed in workhouſes, and in the inſtruments of trade, could ſcarce be diſpoſed of without conſiderable loſs. The equitable regard, therefore, to his intereſt requires that changes of this kind ſhould never be introduced ſuddenly, but ſlowly, gradually, and after a very long warning. The legiſlature, were it poſſible that its deliberations could be always directed, not by the clamorous importunity of partial intereſts, but by an extenſive view of the general good, ought upon this very account, perhaps, to be particularly careful neither to eſtabliſh any new monopolies of this kind, nor to extend further thoſe which are already eſtabliſhed. Every ſuch regulation introduces ſome degree of real diſorder into the conſtitution of the ſtate, which it will be difficult afterwards to cure without occaſioning another diſorder.

How far it may be proper to impoſe taxes upon the importation of foreign goods, in order, not to prevent

prevent their importation, but to raise a revenue for government, I shall consider hereafter when I come to treat of taxes. Taxes imposed with a view to prevent, or even to diminish importation, are evidently as destructive of the revenue of the customs as of the freedom of trade.

CHAP. III.

Of the extraordinary Restraints upon the Importation of Goods of almost all Kinds, from those Countries with which the Balance is supposed to be disadvantageous.

PART I.

Of the Unreasonableness of those Restraints even upon the Principles of the Commercial System.

TO lay extraordinary restraints upon the importation of goods of almost all kinds, from those particular countries with which the balance of trade is supposed to be disadvantageous, is the second expedient by which the commercial system proposes to increase the quantity of gold and silver. Thus in Great Britain, Silesia lawns may be imported for home consumption, upon paying certain duties. But French cambrics and lawns are prohibited to be imported, except into the port of London, there to be warehoused for exportation. Higher duties are imposed upon the wines of France than upon those of Portugal, or indeed of any other country. By what is called the impost 1692, a duty of five and twenty per cent., of the rate or value, was laid upon all French goods; while the goods of other nations were, the greater part of them, subjected to much lighter du-

ties, seldom exceeding five per cent. The wine, brandy, salt and vinegar of France were indeed excepted; these commodities being subjected to other heavy duties, either by other laws, or by particular clauses of the same law. In 1696, a second duty of twenty-five per cent., the first not having been thought a sufficient discouragement, was imposed upon all French goods, except brandy; together with a new duty of five and twenty pounds upon the ton of French wine, and another of fifteen pounds upon the ton of French vinegar. French goods have never been omitted in any of those general subsidies, or duties of five per cent., which have been imposed upon all, or the greater part of the goods enumerated in the book of rates. If we count the one third and two third subsidies as making a complete subsidy between them, there have been five of these general subsidies: so that before the commencement of the present war, seventy-five per cent. may be considered as the lowest duty, to which the greater part of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of France were liable. But upon the greater part of goods, those duties are equivalent to a prohibition. The French in their turn have, I believe, treated our goods and manufactures just as hardly; though I am not so well acquainted with the particular hardships which they have imposed upon them. Those mutual restraints have put an end to almost all fair commerce between the two nations, and smugglers are now the principal importers, either of British goods into France, or of French goods into Great Britain.—The principles which I have been examining in the foregoing chapter took their origin from private interest and the spirit of monopoly; those which I am going to examine in this, from national prejudice and animosity. They are, accordingly, as might well be expected,

expected, ſtill more unreaſonable. They are ſo, even upon the principles of the commercial ſyſtem.

First, though it were certain that in the caſe of a free trade between France and England, for example, the balance would be in favour of France, it would by no means follow that ſuch a trade would be diſadvantageous to England, or that the general balance of its whole trade would thereby be turned more againſt it. If the wines of France are better and cheaper than thoſe of Portugal, or its linens than thoſe of Germany, it would be more advantageous for Great Britain to purchaſe both the wine and the foreign linen which it had occaſion for of France, than of Portugal and Germany. Though the value of the annual importations from France would thereby be greatly augmented, the value of the whole annual importations would be diminiſhed, in proportion as the French goods of the ſame quality were cheaper than thoſe of the other two countries. This would be the caſe, even upon the ſuppoſition that the whole French goods imported were to be conſumed in Great Britain.

But, ſecondly, a great part of them might be re-exported to other countries, where, being ſold with profit, they might bring back a return equal in value, perhaps, to the prime coſt of the whole French goods imported. What has frequently been ſaid of the Eaſt India trade might poſſibly be true of the French; that though the greater part of Eaſt India goods were bought with gold and ſilver, the re-exportation of a part of them to other countries, brought back more gold and ſilver to that which carried on the trade than the prime coſt of the whole amounted to. One of the moſt important branches of the Dutch trade, at preſent, conſiſts in the carriage of French goods to other European countries. Some part even of the French wine drank in Great Britain is clandeſtinely imported

imported from Holland and Zealand. If there was either a free trade between France and England, or if French goods could be imported upon paying only the same duties as those of other European nations, to be drawn back upon exportation, England might have some share of a trade which is found so advantageous to Holland.

THIRDLY, and lastly, there is no certain criterion by which we can determine on which side what is called the balance between any two countries lies, or which of them exports to the greatest value. National prejudice and animosity, prompted always by the private interest of particular traders, are the principles which generally direct our judgment upon all questions concerning it. There are two criterions, however, which have frequently been appealed to upon such occasions, the custom-house books and the course of exchange. The custom-house books, I think, it is now generally acknowledged, are a very uncertain criterion, on account of the inaccuracy of the valuation at which the greater part of goods are rated in them. The course of exchange is, perhaps, almost equally so.

WHEN the exchange between two places, such as London and Paris, is at par, it is said to be a sign that the debts due from London to Paris are compensated by those due from Paris to London. On the contrary, when a premium is paid at London for a bill upon Paris, it is said to be a sign that the debts due from London to Paris are not compensated by those due from Paris to London, but that a balance in money must be sent out from the latter place; for the risk, trouble, and expence of exporting which, the premium is both demanded and given. But the ordinary state of debt and credit between those two cities must necessarily be regulated, it is said, by the ordinary course of their dealings with one another.

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When neither of them imports from the other to a greater amount than it exports to that other, the debts and credits of each may compenſate one another. But when one of them imports from the other to a greater value than it exports to that other, the former neceſſarily becomes indebted to the latter in a greater ſum than the latter becomes indebted to it; the debts and credits of each do not compenſate one another, and money muſt be ſent out from that place of which the debts overbalance the credits. The ordinary courſe of exchange, therefore, being an indication of the ordinary ſtate of debt and credit between two places, muſt likewiſe be an indication of the ordinary courſe of their exports and imports, as theſe neceſſarily regulate that ſtate.

But though the ordinary courſe of exchange ſhould be allowed to be a ſufficient indication of the ordinary ſtate of debt and credit between any two places, it would not from thence follow, that the balance of trade was in favour of that place which had the ordinary ſtate of debt and credit in its favour. The ordinary ſtate of debt and credit between any two places is not always entirely regulated by the ordinary courſe of their dealings with one another; but is often influenced by that of the dealings of either with many other places. If it is uſual, for example, for the merchants of England to pay for the goods which they buy of Hamburgh, Dantzic, Riga, &c. by bills upon Holland, the ordinary ſtate of debt and credit between England and Holland will not be regulated entirely by the ordinary courſe of the dealings of thoſe two countries with one another, but will be influenced by that of the dealings of England with thoſe other places. England may be obliged to ſend out every year money to Holland, though its annual exports to that country may exceed very much the annual value of its imports from thence; and though

what is called the balance of trade may be very much in favour of England.

IN the way, beſides, in which the par of exchange has hitherto been computed, the ordinary courſe of exchange can afford no ſufficient indication that the ordinary ſtate of debt and credit is in favour of that country which ſeems to have, or which is ſuppoſed to have, the ordinary courſe of exchange in its favour: or, in other words, the real exchange may be, and, in fact, often is ſo very different from the computed one, that from the courſe of the latter no certain concluſion can, upon many occaſions, be drawn concerning that of the former.

WHEN for a ſum of money paid in England, containing, according to the ſtandard of the Engliſh mint, a certain number of ounces of pure ſilver, you receive a bill for a ſum of money to be paid in France, containing, according to the ſtandard of the French mint, an equal number of ounces of pure ſilver, exchange is ſaid to be at par between England and France. When you pay more, you are ſuppoſed to give a premium, and exchange is ſaid to be againſt England, and in favour of France. When you pay leſs, you are ſuppoſed to get a premium, and exchange is ſaid to be againſt France, and in favour of England.

BUT, firſt, we cannot always judge of the value of the current money of different countries by the ſtandard of their reſpective mints. In ſome it is more, in others it is leſs worn, clipt, and otherwiſe degenerated from that ſtandard. But the value of the current coin of every country, compared with that of any other country, is in proportion not to the quantity of pure ſilver which it ought to contain, but to that which it actually does contain. Before the reformation of the ſilver coin in king William's time, exchange between England and Holland, computed,

ed, in the usual manner, according to the standard of their respective mints, was five and twenty per cent. against England. But the value of the current coin of England, as we learn from Mr. Lowndes, was at that time rather more than five and twenty per cent. below its standard value. The real exchange, therefore, may even at that time have been in favour of England, notwithstanding the computed exchange was so much against it; a smaller number of ounces of pure silver, actually paid in England, may have purchased a bill for a greater number of ounces of pure silver to be paid in Holland, and the man who was supposed to give, may in reality have got the premium. The French coin was, before the late reformation of the English gold coin, much less worn than the English, and was, perhaps, two or three per cent. nearer its standard. If the computed exchange with France, therefore, was not more than two or three per cent. against England, the real exchange might have been in its favour. Since the reformation of the gold coin, the exchange has been constantly in favour of England, and against France.

SECONDLY, in some countries, the expence of coinage is defrayed by the government; in others, it is defrayed by the private people who carry their bullion to the mint, and the government even derives some revenue from the coinage. In England, it is defrayed by the government, and if you carry a pound weight of standard silver to the mint, you get back sixty-two shillings, containing a pound weight of the like standard silver. In France, a duty of eight per cent. is deducted for the coinage, which not only defrays the expence of it, but affords a small revenue to the government. In England, as the coinage costs nothing, the current coin can never be much more valuable than the quantity of bullion which it actually contains. In France, the workmanship, as

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as you pay for it, adds to the value, in the same manner as to that of wrought plate. A sum of French money, therefore, containing a certain weight of pure silver, is more valuable than a sum of English money containing an equal weight of pure silver, and must require more bullion, or other commodities, to purchase it. Though the current coin of the two countries, therefore, were equally near the standards of their respective mints, a sum of English money could not well purchase a sum of French money, containing an equal number of ounces of pure silver, nor consequently a bill upon France for such a sum. If for such a bill no more additional money was paid than what was sufficient to compensate the expence of the French coinage, the real exchange might be at par between the two countries, their debts and credits might mutually compensate one another, while the computed exchange was considerably in favour of France. If less than this was paid, the real exchange might be in favour of England, while the computed was in favour of France.

THIRDLY, and lastly, in some places, as at Amsterdam, Hamburgh, Venice, &c. foreign bills of exchange are paid in what they call bank money; while in others, as at London, Lisbon, Antwerp, Leghorn, &c. they are paid in the common currency of the country. What is called bank money is always of more value than the same nominal sum of common currency. A thousand guilders in the bank of Amsterdam, for example, are of more value than a thousand guilders of Amsterdam currency. The difference between them is called the agio of the bank, which, at Amsterdam, is generally about five per cent. Supposing the current money of the two countries equally near to the standard of their respective mints, and that the one pays foreign bills in this common currency, while the other pays them in bank

bank money, it is evident that the computed exchange may be in favour of that which pays in bank money, though the real exchange ſhould be in favour of that which pays in current money; for the ſame reaſon that the computed exchange may be in favour of that which pays in better money, or in money nearer to its own ſtandard, though the real exchange ſhould be in favour of that which pays in worſe. The computed exchange, before the late reformation of the gold coin, was generally againſt London with Amſterdam, Hamburgh, Venice, and, I believe, with all other places which pay in what is called bank money. It will by no means follow, however, that the real exchange was againſt it. Since the reformation of the gold coin, it has been in favour of London even with thoſe places. The computed exchange has generally been in favour of London with Liſbon, Antwerp, Leghorn, and, if you except France, I believe, with moſt other parts of Europe that pay in common currency; and it is not improbable that the real exchange was ſo too.

Digreſſion concerning Banks of Depoſit, particularly concerning that of Amſterdam.

THE currency of a great ſtate, ſuch as France or England, generally conſiſts almoſt entirely of its own coin. Should this currency, therefore, be at any time worn, clipt, or otherwiſe degraded below its ſtandard value, the ſtate by a reformation of its coin can effectually re-eſtabliſh its currency. But the currency of a ſmall ſtate, ſuch as Genoa or Hamburgh, can ſeldom conſiſt altogether in its own coin, but muſt be made up, in a great meaſure, of the coins of all the neighbouring ſtates with which its inhabitants have a continual intercourſe. Such a ſtate, therefore, by reforming its coin, will not always

ways be able to reform its currency. If foreign bills of exchange are paid in this currency, the uncertain value of any ſum, of what is in its own nature ſo uncertain, muſt render the exchange always very much againſt ſuch a ſtate, its currency being, in all foreign ſtates, neceſſarily valued even below what it is worth.

IN order to remedy the inconvenience to which this diſadvantageous exchange muſt have ſubjected their merchants, ſuch ſmall ſtates, when they began to attend to the intereſt of trade, have frequently enacted, that foreign bills of exchange of a certain value ſhould be paid, not in common currency, but by an order upon, or by a transfer in the books of a certain bank, eſtabliſhed upon the credit, and under the protection of the ſtate; this bank being always obliged to pay, in good and true money, exactly according to the ſtandard of the ſtate. The banks of Venice, Genoa, Amſterdam, Hamburgh and Nuremberg, ſeem to have been all originally eſtabliſhed with this view, though ſome of them may have afterwards been made ſubſervient to other purpoſes. The money of ſuch banks being better than the common currency of the country, neceſſarily bore an agio, which was greater or ſmaller, according as the currency was ſuppoſed to be more or leſs degraded below the ſtandard of the ſtate. The agio of the bank of Hamburgh, for example, which is ſaid to be commonly about fourteen per cent. is the ſuppoſed difference between the good ſtandard money of the ſtate, and the clipt, worn, and diminiſhed currency poured into it from all the neighbouring ſtates.

BEFORE 1609 the great quantity of clipt and worn foreign coin, which the extenſive trade of Amſterdam brought from all parts of Europe, reduced the value of its currency about nine per cent. below that of good money freſh from the mint. Such money no ſooner

ſooner appeared than it was melted down or carried away, as it always is in ſuch circumſtances. The merchants, with plenty of currency, could not always find a ſufficient quantity of good money to pay their bills of exchange; and the value of thoſe bills, in ſpite of ſeveral regulations which were made to prevent it, became in a great meaſure uncertain.

In order to remedy theſe inconveniencies, a bank was eſtabliſhed in 1609 under the guarantee of the city. This bank received both foreign coin, and the light and worn coin of the country at its real intrinſic value in the good ſtandard money of the country, deducting only ſo much as was neceſſary for defraying the expence of coinage, and the other neceſſary expence of management. For the value which remained, after this ſmall deduction was made, it gave a credit in its books. This credit was called bank money, which, as it repreſented money exactly according to the ſtandard of the mint, was always of the ſame real value, and intrinſically worth more than current money. It was at the ſame time enacted, that all bills drawn upon or negociated at Amſterdam of the value of ſix hundred guilders and upwards ſhould be paid in bank money, which at once took away all uncertainty in the value of thoſe bills. Every merchant, in conſequence of this regulation, was obliged to keep an account with the bank in order to pay his foreign bills of exchange, which neceſſarily occaſioned a certain demand for bank money.

Bank money over and above both its intrinſic ſuperiority to currency, and the additional value which this demand neceſſarily gives it, has likewiſe ſome other advantages. It is ſecure from fire, robbery, and other accidents; the city of Amſterdam is bound for it; it can be paid away by a ſimple transfer, without the trouble of counting, or the riſk of tranſporting it from one place to another. In conſequence of thoſe different

ent advantages, it ſeems from the beginning to have borne an agio, and it is generally believed that all the money originally depoſited in the bank was allowed to remain there, nobody caring to demand payment of a debt which he could ſell for a premium in the market. By demanding payment of the bank, the owner of a bank credit would loſe this premium. As a ſhilling freſh from the mint will buy no more goods in the market than one of our common worn ſhillings, ſo the good and true money which might be brought from the coffers of the bank into thoſe of a private perſon being mixed and confounded with the common currency of the country, would be of no more value than that currency, from which it could no longer be readily diſtinguiſhed. While it remained in the coffers of the bank, its ſuperiority was known and aſcertained. When it had come into thoſe of a private perſon, its ſuperiority could not well be aſcertained without more trouble than perhaps the difference was worth. By being brought from the coffers of the bank, beſides, it loſt all the other advantages of bank money; its ſecurity, its eaſy and ſafe transferability, its uſe in paying foreign bills of exchange. Over and above all this, it could not be brought from thoſe coffers, as it will appear by and by, without previouſly paying for the keeping.

THOSE depoſits of coin, or thoſe depoſits which the bank was bound to reſtore in coin, conſtituted the original capital of the bank, or the whole value of what was repreſented by what is called bank money. At preſent they are ſuppoſed to conſtitute but a very ſmall part of it. In order to facilitate the trade in bullion, the bank has been for theſe many years in the practice of giving credit in its books upon depoſits of gold and ſilver bullion. This credit is generally about five per cent. below the mint price of ſuch bullion. The bank grants at the ſame time what is called

called a recipice or receipt, intitling the perſon who makes the depoſit, or the bearer, to take out the bullion again at any time within ſix months, upon retransferring to the bank a quantity of bank money equal to that for which credit had been given in its books when the depoſit was made, and upon paying one-fourth per cent. for the keeping, if the depoſit was in ſilver; and one-half per cent. if it was in gold; but at the ſame time declaring, that in default of ſuch payment, and upon the expiration of this term, the depoſit ſhould belong to the bank at the price at which it had been received, or for which credit had been given in the transfer books. What is thus paid for the keeping of the depoſit may be conſidered as a ſort of warehouſe rent; and why this warehouſe rent ſhould be ſo much dearer for gold than for ſilver, ſeveral different reaſons have been aſſigned. The fineneſs of gold, it has been ſaid, is more difficult to be aſcertained than that of ſilver. Frauds are more eaſily practiſed, and occaſion a greater loſs in the more precious metal. Silver, beſides, being the ſtandard metal, the ſtate, it has been ſaid, wiſhes to encourage more the making of depoſits of ſilver than thoſe of gold.

DEPOSITS of bullion are moſt commonly made when the price is ſomewhat lower than ordinary; and they are taken out again when it happens to riſe. In Holland the market price of bullion is generally above the mint price, for the ſame reaſon that it was ſo in England before the late reformation of the gold coin. The difference is ſaid to be commonly from about ſix to ſixteen ſtivers upon the mark, or eight ounces of ſilver of eleven parts fine, and one part alloy. The bank price, or the credit which the bank gives for depoſits of ſuch ſilver (when made in foreign coin, of which the fineneſs is well known and aſcertained, ſuch as Mexico dollars), is twenty-two guilders the

mark; the mint price is about twenty-three guilders, and the market price is from twenty-three guilders six, to twenty-three guilders sixteen stivers, or from two to three per cent. above the mint price.* The proportions between the bank price, the mint price, and the market price of gold bullion, are nearly the same. A person can generally sell his receipt for the difference between the mint price of bullion and the market price. A receipt for bullion is almost always worth something, and it very seldom happens, therefore, that any body suffers his receipt to expire, or allows his bullion to fall to the bank at the price at which it had been received, either by not taking it out

* The following are the prices at which the bank of Amsterdam at present (September, 1775) receives bullion and coin of different kinds:

SILVER.

Mexico dollars, French crowns, English silver coin	Guilders. B—22 per mark.
Mexico dollars new coin	21 10
Ducatoons	3
Rix dollars	2 8

Bar silver containing $\frac{11}{12}$ fine silver 21 per mark, and in this proportion down to $\frac{1}{4}$ fine, on which 5 guilders are given.

Fine bars, 23 per mark.

GOLD.

Portugal coin, Guineas, Louis d'ors new	B—310 per mark.
Ditto old	300
New ducats	4 19 8 per ducat.

Bar or ingot gold is received in proportion to its fineness compared with the above foreign gold coin. Upon fine bars the bank gives 340 per mark. In general, however, something more is given upon coin of a known fineness, than upon gold and silver bars, of which the fineness cannot be ascertained but by a process of melting and assaying.

out before the end of the six months, or by neglecting to pay the one-fourth or one-half per cent. in order to obtain a new receipt for another six months. This, however, though it happens seldom, is said to happen sometimes, and more frequently with regard to gold, than with regard to silver, on account of the higher warehouse-rent which is paid for the keeping of the more precious metal.

THE person who by making a deposit of bullion obtains both a bank credit and a receipt, pays his bills of exchange as they become due with his bank credit, and either sells or keeps his receipt according as he judges that the price of bullion is likely to rise or to fall. The receipt and the bank credit seldom keep long together, and there is no occasion that they should. The person who has a receipt, and who wants to take out bullion, finds always plenty of bank credits, or bank money to buy at the ordinary price; and the person who has bank money, and wants to take out bullion, finds receipts always in equal abundance.

THE owners of bank credits, and the holders of receipts, constitute two different sorts of creditors against the bank. The holder of a receipt cannot draw out the bullion for which it is granted, without reassigning to the bank a sum of bank money equal to the price at which the bullion had been received. If he has no bank money of his own, he must purchase it of those who have it. The owner of bank money cannot draw out bullion without producing to the bank receipts for the quantity which he wants. If he has none of his own, he must buy them of those who have them. The holder of a receipt, when he purchases bank money, purchases the power of taking out a quantity of bullion, of which the mint price is five per cent. above the bank price. The agio of five per cent. therefore, which he commonly pays for it, is paid, not for an imaginary, but for a real value.

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The owner of bank money, when he purchaſes a receipt, purchaſes the power of taking out a quantity of bullion of which the market price is commonly from two to three per cent. above the mint price. The price which he pays for it, therefore, is paid likewiſe for a real value. The price of the receipt, and the price of the bank money, compound or make up between them the full value or price of the bullion.

UPON depoſits of the coin current in the country, the bank grants receipts alſo as well as bank credits; but thoſe receipts are frequently of no value, and will bring no price in the market. Upon ducatoons, for example, which in the currency paſs for three guilders three ſtivers each, the bank gives a credit of three guilders only, or five per cent. below their current value. It grants a receipt likewiſe intitling the bearer to take out the number of ducatoons depoſited at any time within ſix months, upon paying one-fourth per cent. for the keeping. This receipt will frequently bring no price in the market. Three guilders bank money generally ſell in the market for three guilders three ſtivers, the full value of the ducatoons, if they were taken out of the bank; and before they can be taken out, one-fourth per cent. muſt be paid for the keeping, which would be mere loſs to the holder of the receipt. If the agio of the bank, however, ſhould at any time fall to three per cent. ſuch receipts might bring ſome price in the market, and might ſell for one and three-fourths per cent. But the agio of the bank being now generally about five per cent., ſuch receipts are frequently allowed to expire, or, as they expreſs it, to fall to the bank. The receipts which are given for depoſits of gold ducats fall to it yet more frequently, becauſe a higher warehouſe-rent, or one-half per cent. muſt be paid for the keeping of them before they can be taken out. The five per cent.

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which the bank gains, when deposits either of coin or bullion are allowed to fall to it, may be considered as the warehouse-rent for the perpetual keeping of such deposits.

THE sum of bank money for which the receipts are expired must be very considerable. It must comprehend the whole original capital of the bank, which, it is generally supposed, has been allowed to remain there from the time it was first deposited, nobody caring either to renew his receipt or to take out his deposit, as, for the reasons already assigned, neither the one nor the other could be done without loss. But whatever may be the amount of this sum, the proportion which it bears to the whole mass of bank money is supposed to be very small. The bank of Amsterdam has for these many years past been the great warehouse of Europe for bullion, for which the receipts are very seldom allowed to expire, or, as they express it, to fall to the bank. The far greater part of the bank money, or of the credits upon the books of the bank, is supposed to have been created, for these many years past, by such deposits, which the dealers in bullion are continually both making and withdrawing.

No demand can be made upon the bank but by means of a recipice or receipt. The smaller mass of bank money, for which the receipts are expired, is mixed and confounded with the much greater mass for which they are still in force; so that, tho' there may be a considerable sum of bank money, for which there are no receipts, there is no specific sum or portion of it, which may not at any time be demanded by one. The bank cannot be debtor to two persons for the same thing; and the owner of bank money who has no receipt, cannot demand payment of the bank till he buys one. In ordinary and quiet times, he can find no difficulty in getting one to buy at the

market price, which generally correſponds with the price at which he can ſell the coin or bullion it intitles him to take out of the bank.

IT might be otherwiſe during a public calamity; an invaſion, for example, ſuch as that of the French in 1672. The owners of bank money being then all eager to draw it out of the bank, in order to have it in their own keeping, the demand for receipts might raiſe their price to an exorbitant height. The holders of them might form extravagant expectations, and, inſtead of two or three per cent. demand half the bank money for which credit had been given upon the depoſits that the receipts had reſpectively been granted for. The enemy, informed of the conſtitution of the bank, might even buy them up, in order to prevent the carrying away of the treaſure. In ſuch emergencies, the bank, it is ſuppoſed, would break through its ordinary rule of making payment only to the holders of receipts. The holders of receipts, who had not bank money, muſt have received within two or three per cent. of the value of the depoſit for which their reſpective receipts had been granted. The bank, therefore, it is ſaid, would in this caſe make no ſcruple of paying, either with money or bullion, the full value of what the owners of bank money who could get no receipts were credited for in its books; paying at the ſame time two or three per cent. to ſuch holders of receipts as had no bank money, that being the whole value which in this ſtate of things could juſtly be ſuppoſed due to them.

EVEN in ordinary and quiet times it is the intereſt of the holders of receipts to depreſs the agio, in order either to buy bank money (and conſequently the bullion, which their receipts would then enable them to take out of the bank) ſo much cheaper, or to ſell their receipts to thoſe who have bank money, and who

who want to take out bullion, ſo much dearer; the price of a receipt being generally equal to the difference between the market price of bank money, and that of the coin or bullion for which the receipt had been granted. It is the intereſt of the owners of bank money, on the contrary, to raiſe the agio, in order either to ſell their bank money ſo much dearer, or to buy a receipt ſo much cheaper. To prevent the ſtock-jobbing tricks which thoſe oppoſite intereſts might ſometimes occaſion, the bank has of late years come to the reſolution to ſell at all times bank money for currency, at five per cent. agio, and to buy it in again at four per cent. agio. In conſequence of this reſolution, the agio can never either riſe above five, or ſink below four per cent. and the proportion between the market price of bank and that of current money, is kept at all times very near to the proportion between their intrinſic values. Before this reſolution was taken, the market price of bank money uſed ſometimes to riſe ſo high as nine per cent. agio, and ſometimes to ſink ſo low as par, according as oppoſite intereſts happened to influence the market.

THE bank of Amſterdam profeſſes to lend out no part of what is depoſited with it, but, for every guilder for which it gives credit in its books, to keep in its repoſitories the value of a guilder either in money or bullion. That it keeps in its repoſitories all the money or bullion for which there are receipts in force, for which it is at all times liable to be called upon, and which, in reality, is continually going from it and returning to it again, cannot well be doubted. But whether it does ſo likewiſe with regard to that part of its capital, for which the receipts are long ago expired, for which in ordinary and quiet times it cannot be called upon, and which in reality is very likely to remain with it for ever, or as long as the States of the United Provinces ſubſiſt, may

may perhaps appear more uncertain. At Amſterdam, however, no point of faith is better eſtabliſhed than that for every guilder, circulated as bank money, there is a correſpondent guilder in gold or ſilver to be found in the treaſure of the bank. The city is guarantee that it ſhould be ſo. The bank is under the direction of the four reigning burgomaſters, who are changed every year. Each new ſet of burgomaſters viſits the treaſure, compares it with the books, receives it upon oath, and delivers it over, with the ſame awful ſolemnity, to the ſet which ſucceeds; and in that ſober and religious country oaths are not yet diſregarded. A rotation of this kind ſeems alone a ſufficient ſecurity againſt any practices which cannot be avowed. Amidſt all the revolutions which faction has ever occaſioned in the government of Amſterdam, the prevailing party has at no time accuſed their predeceſſors of infidelity in the adminiſtration of the bank. No accuſation could have affected more deeply the reputation and fortune of the diſgraced party, and if ſuch an accuſation could have been ſupported, we may be aſſured that it would have been brought. In 1672, when the French king was at Utrecht, the bank of Amſterdam paid ſo readily as left no doubt of the fidelity with which it had obſerved its engagements. Some of the pieces which were then brought from its repoſitories appeared to have been ſcorched with the fire which happened in the town-houſe ſoon after the bank was eſtabliſhed. Thoſe pieces, therefore, muſt have lain there from that time.

WHAT may be the amount of the treaſure in the bank, is a queſtion which has long employed the ſpeculations of the curious. Nothing but conjecture can be afforded concerning it. It is generally reckoned that there about two thouſand people who keep accounts with the bank, and allowing them to have,

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one with another, the value of fifteen hundred pounds ſterling lying upon their reſpective accounts (a very large allowance), the whole quantity of bank money, and conſequently of treaſure in the bank, will amount to about three millions ſterling, or, at eleven guilders the pound ſterling, thirty-three millions of guilders; a great ſum, and ſufficient to carry on a very extenſive circulation; but vaſtly below the extravagant ideas which ſome people have formed of this treaſure.

THE city of Amſterdam derives a conſiderable revenue from the bank. Beſides what may be called the warehouſe-rent above mentioned, each perſon, upon firſt opening an account with the bank, pays a fee of ten guilders; and for every new account three guilders three ſtivers; for every transfer two ſtivers; and if the transfer is for leſs than three hundred guilders, ſix ſtivers, in order to diſcourage the multiplicity of ſmall tranſactions. The perſon who neglects to balance his account twice in the year forfeits twenty-five guilders. The perſon who orders a transfer for more than is upon his account, is obliged to pay three per cent. for the ſum overdrawn, and his order is ſet aſide into the bargain. The bank is ſuppoſed too to make a conſiderable profit by the ſale of the foreign coin or bullion which ſometimes falls to it by the expiring of receipts, and which is always kept till it can be ſold with advantage. It makes a profit likewiſe by ſelling bank money at five per cent. agio, and buying it in at four. Theſe different emoluments amount to a good deal more than what is neceſſary for paying the ſalaries of officers, and defraying the expence of management. What is paid for the keeping of bullion upon receipts, is alone ſuppoſed to amount to a neat annual revenue of between one hundred and fifty thouſand and two hundred thouſand guilders. Public utility, however, and not revenue,

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was the original object of this inſtitution. Its object was to relieve the merchants from the inconvenience of a diſadvantageous exchange. The revenue which has ariſen from it was unforeſeen, and may be conſidered as accidental. But it is now time to return from this long digreſſion, into which I have been inſenſibly led in endeavouring to explain the reaſons why the exchange between the countries which pay in what is called bank money, and thoſe which pay in common currency, ſhould generally appear to be in favour of the former, and againſt the latter. The former pay in a ſpecies of money of which the intrinſic value is always the ſame, and exactly agreeable to the ſtandard of their reſpective mints; the latter in a ſpecies of money of which the intrinſic value is continually varying, and is almoſt always more or leſs below that ſtandard.

PART II.

Of the Unreaſonableneſs of thoſe extraordinary Reſtraints upon other Principles.

IN the foregoing Part of this Chapter I have endeavoured to ſhew, even upon the principles of the commercial ſyſtem, how unneceſſary it is to lay extraordinary reſtraints upon the importation of goods from thoſe countries with which the balance of trade is ſuppoſed to be diſadvantageous.

NOTHING, however, can be more abſurd than this whole doctrine of the balance of trade, upon which, not only theſe reſtraints, but all the other regulations of commerce are founded. When two places trade with one another, this doctrine ſuppoſes that, if the balance be even, neither of them either loſes or gains; but if it leans in any degree to one ſide, that one

one of them loſes, and the other gains in proportion to its declenſion from the exact equilibrium. Both ſuppoſitions are falſe. A trade which is forced by means of bounties and monopolies, may be, and commonly is diſadvantageous to the country in whoſe favour it is meant to be eſtabliſhed, as I ſhall endeavour to ſhew hereafter. But that trade which, without force or conſtraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between any two places, is always advantageous, though not always equally ſo, to both.

By advantage or gain, I underſtand, not the increaſe of the quantity of gold and ſilver, but, that of the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, or the increaſe of the annual revenue of its inhabitants.

If the balance be even, and if the trade between the two places conſiſt altogether in the exchange of their native commodities, they will, upon moſt occaſions, not only both gain, but they will gain equally, or very near equally: each will in this caſe afford a market for a part of the ſurplus produce of the other: each will replace a capital which had been employed in raiſing and preparing for the market this part of the ſurplus produce of the other, and which had been diſtributed among, and given revenue and maintenance to a certain number of its inhabitants. Some part of the inhabitants of each, therefore, will indirectly derive their revenue and maintenance from the other. As the commodities exchanged too are ſuppoſed to be of equal value, ſo the two capitals employed in the trade will, upon moſt occaſions, be equal, or very nearly equal; and both being employed in raiſing the native commodities of the two countries, the revenue and maintenance which their diſtribution will afford to the inhabitants of each will be equal, or very nearly equal. This revenue and maintenance, thus mutually afforded, will be greater or ſmaller in proportion

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to the extent of their dealings. If these should annually amount to an hundred thousand pounds, for example, or to a million on each side, each of them would afford an annual revenue in the one case, of an hundred thousand pounds, in the the other of a million, to the inhabitants of the other.

IF their trade should be of such a nature that one of them exported to the other nothing but native commodities, while the returns of that other consisted altogether in foreign goods; the balance, in this case, would still be supposed even, commodities being paid for with commodities. They would in this case too, both gain, but they would not gain equally; and the inhabitants of the country which exported nothing but native commodities would derive the greatest revenue from the trade. If England, for example, should import from France nothing but the native commodities of that country, and, not having such commodities of its own as were in demand there, should annually repay them by sending thither a large quantity of foreign goods, tobacco, we shall suppose, and East India goods; this trade, though it would give some revenue to the inhabitants of both countries, would give more to those of France than to those of England. The whole French capital annually employed in it would annually be destributed among the people of France. But that part of the English capital only which was employed in producing the English commodities with which those foreign goods were purchased, would be annually distributed among the people of England. The greater part of it would replace the capitals which had been employed in Virginia, Indostan, and China, and which had given revenue and maintenance to the inhabitants of those distant countries. If the capitals were equal, or nearly equal, therefore, this employment of the French capital would augment much more the revenue of the people

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of France, than that of the Engliſh capital would the revenue of the people of England. France would in this caſe carry on a direct foreign trade of conſumption with England; whereas England would carry on a round-about trade of the ſame kind with France. The different effects of a capital employed in the direct, and of one employed in the round-about foreign trade of conſumption, have already been fully explained.

THERE is not, probably, between any two countries, a trade which conſiſts altogether in the exchange either of native commodities on both ſides, or of native commodities on one ſide and of foreign goods on the other. Almoſt all countries exchange with one another partly native and partly foreign goods. That country, however, in whoſe cargoes there is the greateſt proportion of native, and the leaſt of foreign goods, will always be the principal gainer.

IF it was not with tobacco and Eaſt India goods, but with gold and ſilver, that England paid for the commodities annually imported from France, the balance, in this caſe, would be ſuppoſed uneven, commodities not being paid for with commodities, but with gold and ſilver. The trade, however, would, in this caſe, as in the foregoing, give ſome revenue to the inhabitants of both countries, but more to thoſe of France than to thoſe of England. It would give ſome revenue to thoſe of England. The capital which had been employed in producing the Engliſh goods that purchaſed this gold and ſilver, the capital which had been diſtributed among, and given revenue to, certain inhabitants of England, would thereby be replaced, and enabled to continue that employment. The whole capital of England would no more be diminiſhed by this exportation of gold and ſilver, than by the exportation of an equal value of any other goods. On the contrary, it would, in moſt caſes,

be augmented. No goods are ſent abroad but thoſe for which the demand is ſuppoſed to be greater abroad than at home, and of which the returns conſequently, it is expected, will be of more value at home than the commodities exported. If the tobacco which, in England, is worth only a hundred thouſand pounds, when ſent to France will purchaſe wine which is, in England, worth a hundred and ten thouſand pounds, the exchange will augment the capital of England by ten thouſand pounds. If a hundred thouſand pounds of Engliſh gold, in the ſame manner, purchaſe French wine, which, in England, is worth a hundred and ten thouſand, this exchange will equally augment the capital of England by ten thouſand pounds. As a merchant who has a hundred and ten thouſand pounds worth of wine in his cellar, is a richer man than he who has only a hundred thouſand pounds worth of tobacco in his warehouſe, ſo is he likewiſe a richer man than he who has only a hundred thouſand pounds worth of gold in his coffers. He can put into motion a greater quantity of induſtry, and give revenue, maintenance, and employment, to a greater number of people than either of the other two. But the capital of the country is equal to the capitals of all its different inhabitants, and the quantity of induſtry which can be annually maintained in it, is equal to what all thoſe different capitals can maintain. Both the capital of the country, therefore, and the quantity of induſtry which can be annually maintained in it, muſt generally be augmented by this exchange. It would, indeed, be more advantageous for England that it could purchaſe the wines of France with its own hard-ware and broad-cloth, than with either the tobacco of Virginia, or the gold and ſilver of Brazil and Peru. A direct foreign trade of conſumption is always more advantageous than a round-about one. But a round-about foreign trade of conſumption, which

which is carried on with gold and silver, does not seem to be less advantageous than any other equally round-about one. Neither is a country which has no mines, more likely to be exhausted of gold and silver by this annual exportation of those metals, than one which does not grow tobacco by the like annual exportation of that plant. As a country which has wherewithal to buy tobacco will never be long in want of it, so neither will one be long in want of gold and silver which has wherewithal to purchase those metals.

It is a losing trade, it is said, which a workman carries on with the alehouse; and the trade which a manufacturing nation would naturally carry on with a wine country, may be considered as a trade of the same nature. I answer, that the trade with the alehouse is not necessarily a losing trade. In its own nature it is just as advantageous as any other, though, perhaps, somewhat more liable to be abused. The employment of a brewer, and even that of a retailer of fermented liquors, are as necessary divisions of labour as any other. It will generally be more advantageous for a workman to buy of the brewer the quantity he has occasion for, than to brew it himself, and if he is a poor workman, it will generally be more advantageous for him to buy it, by little and little, of the retailer, than a large quantity of the brewer. He may no doubt buy too much of either, as he may of any other dealers in his neighbourhood, of the butcher, if he is a glutton, or of the draper, if he affects to be a beau among his companions. It is advantageous to the great body of workmen, notwithstanding, that all these trades should be free, though this freedom may be abused in all of them, and is more likely to be so, perhaps, in some than in others. Though individuals, besides, may sometimes ruin their fortunes by an excessive consumption of fermented liquors, there seems

ſeems to be no riſk that a nation ſhould do ſo. Tho' in every country there are many people who ſpend upon ſuch liquors more than they can afford, there are always many more who ſpend leſs. It deſerves to be remarked too, that, if we conſult experience, the cheapneſs of wine ſeems to be a cauſe, not of drunkenneſs, but of ſobriety. The inhabitants of the wine countries are in general the ſobereſt people in Europe; witneſs the Spaniards, the Italians, and the inhabitants of the ſouthern provinces of France.—People are ſeldom guilty of exceſs in what is their daily fare. Nobody affects the character of liberality and good fellowſhip, by being profuſe of a liquor which is as cheap as ſmall beer. On the contrary, in the countries which, either from exceſſive heat or cold, produce no grapes, and where wine is conſequently dear and a rarity, drunkenneſs is a common vice, as among the northern nations, and all thoſe who live between the tropics, the negroes, for example, on the coaſt of Guinea. When a French regiment comes from ſome of the northern provinces of France, where wine is ſomewhat dear, to be quartered in the ſouthern, where it is very cheap, the ſoldiers, I have frequently heard it obſerved, are at firſt debauched by the cheapneſs and novelty of good wine; but after a few months reſidence, the greater part of them become as ſober as the reſt of the inhabitants. Were the duties upon foreign wines, and the exciſes upon malt, beer, and ale, to be taken away all at once, it might, in the ſame manner, occaſion in Great Britain a pretty general and temporary drunkenneſs among the middling and inferior ranks of people, which would probably be ſoon followed by a permanent and almoſt univerſal ſobriety. At preſent drunkenneſs is by no means the vice of people of faſhion, or of thoſe who can eaſily afford the moſt expenſive liquors. A gentleman drunk with ale, has ſcarce ever been ſeen among us.

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The reſtraints upon the wine trade in Great Britain, beſides, do not ſo much ſeem calculated to hinder the people from going, if I may ſay ſo, to the alehouſe, as from going where they can buy the beſt and cheapeſt liquor. They favour the wine trade of Portugal, and diſcourage that of France. The Portugueſe, it is ſaid, indeed, are better cuſtomers for our manufactures than the French, and ſhould therefore be encouraged in preference to them. As they give us their cuſtom, it is pretended, we ſhould give them ours. The ſneaking arts of underling tradeſmen are thus erected into political maxims for the conduct of a great empire: for it is the moſt underling tradeſmen only who make it a rule to employ chiefly their own cuſtomers. A great trader purchaſes his goods always where they are cheapeſt and beſt, without regard to any little intereſt of this kind.

By ſuch maxims as theſe, however, nations have been taught that their intereſt conſiſted in beggaring all their neighbours. Each nation has been made to look with an invidious eye upon the proſperity of all the nations with which it trades, and to conſider their gain as its own loſs. Commerce, which ought naturally to be, among nations, as among individuals, a bond of union and friendſhip, has become the moſt fertile ſource of diſcord and animoſity. The capricious ambition of kings and miniſters has not, during the preſent and preceding century, been more fatal to the repoſe of Europe, than the impertinent jealouſy of merchants and manufacturers. The violence and injuſtice of the rulers of mankind is an ancient evil, for which, I am afraid, the nature of human affairs can ſcarce admit of a remedy. But the mean rapacity, the monopolizing ſpirit of merchants and manufacturers, who neither are, nor ought to be, the rulers of mankind, though it cannot perhaps be

corrected, may very eaſily be prevented from diſturbing the tranquillity of any body but themſelves.

THAT it was the ſpirit of monopoly which originally both invented and propagated this doctrine, cannot be doubted; and they who firſt taught it were by no means ſuch fools as they who believed it. In every country it always is and muſt be the intereſt of the great body of the people to buy whatever they want of thoſe who ſell it cheapeſt. The propoſition is ſo very manifeſt, that it ſeems ridiculous to take any pains to prove it; nor could it ever have been called in queſtion, had not the intereſted ſophiſtry of merchants and manufacturers confounded the common ſenſe of mankind. Their intereſt is, in this reſpect, directly oppoſite to that of the great body of the people. As it is the intereſt of the freemen of a corporation to hinder the reſt of the inhabitants from employing any workmen but themſelves, ſo it is the intereſt of the merchants and manufacturers of every country to ſecure to themſelves the monopoly of the home market. Hence in Great Britain, and in moſt other European countries, the extraordinary duties upon almoſt all goods imported by alien merchants. Hence the high duties and prohibitions upon all thoſe foreign manufactures which can come into competition with our own. Hence too the extraordinary reſtraints upon the importation of almoſt all ſorts of goods from thoſe countries with which the balance of trade is ſuppoſed to be diſadvantageous; that is, from thoſe againſt whom national animoſity happens to be moſt violently inflamed.

THE wealth of a neighbouring nation, however, though dangerous in war and politics, is certainly advantageous in trade. In a ſtate of hoſtility it may enable our enemies to maintain fleets and armies ſuperior to our own; but in a ſtate of peace and commerce it muſt likewiſe enable them to exchange with

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us to a greater value, and to afford a better market, either for the immediate produce of our own industry, or for whatever is purchased with that produce. As a rich man is likely to be a better customer to the industrious people in his neighbourhood, than a poor, so is likewise a rich nation. A rich man, indeed, who is himself a manufacturer, is a very dangerous neighbour to all those who deal in the same way. All the rest of the neighbourhood, however, by far the greatest number, profit by the good market which his expence affords them. They even profit by his underselling the poorer workmen who deal in the same way with him. The manufactures of a rich nation, in the same manner, may no doubt be very dangerous rivals to those of their neighbours. This very competition, however, is advantageous to the great body of the people, who profit greatly besides by the good market which the great expence of such a nation affords them in every other way. Private people who want to make a fortune, never think of retiring to the remote and poor provinces of the country, but resort either to the capital, or to some of the great commercial towns. They know, that, where little wealth circulates, there is little to be got, but that where a great deal is in motion, some share of it may fall to them. The same maxims which would in this manner direct the common sense of one, or ten, or twenty individuals, should regulate the judgment of one, or ten, or twenty millions, and should make a whole nation regard the riches of its neighbours, as a probable cause and occasion for itself to acquire riches. A nation that would enrich itself by foreign trade, is certainly most likely to do so when its neighbours are all rich, industrious, and commercial nations. A great nation surrounded on all sides by wandering savages and poor barbarians might, no doubt, acquire riches by the cultivation of its own lands,

lands, and by its own interior commerce, but not by foreign trade. It seems to have been in this manner that the ancient Egyptians and the modern Chinese acquired their great wealth. The ancient Egyptians, it is said, neglected foreign commerce, and the modern Chinese, it is known, hold it in the utmost contempt, and scarce deign to afford it the decent protection of the laws. The modern maxims of foreign commerce, by aiming at the impoverishment of all our neighbours, so far as they are capable of producing their intended effect, tend to render that very commerce insignificant and contemptible.

IT is in consequence of these maxims that the commerce between France and England has in both countries been subjected to so many discouragements and restraints. If those two countries, however, were to consider their real interest, without either mercantile jealousy or national animosity, the commerce of France might be more advantageous to Great Britain than that of any other country, and for the same reason that of Great Britain to France. France is the nearest neighbour to Great Britain. In the trade between the southern coast of England and the northern and north western coasts of France, the returns might be expected, in the same manner as in the inland trade, four, five, or six times in the year. The capital, therefore, employed in this trade, could in each of the two countries keep in motion four, five, or six times the quantity of industry, and afford employment and subsistence to four, five, or six times the number of people, which an equal capital could do in the greater part of the other branches of foreign trade. Between the parts of France and Great Britain most remote from one another, the returns might be expected, at least, once in the year, and even this trade would so far be at least equally advantageous as the greater part of the other branches of our foreign

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European trade. It would be, at leaſt, three times more advantageous, than the boaſted trade with our North American colonies, in which the returns were ſeldom made in leſs than three years, frequently not in leſs than four or five years. France, beſides, is ſuppoſed to contain twenty-four millions of inhabitants. Our North American colonies were never ſuppoſed to contain more than three millions: And France is a much richer country than North America; though, on account of the more unequal diſtribution of riches, there is much more poverty and beggary in the one country, than in the other. France therefore could afford a market at leaſt eight times more extenſive, and, on account of the ſuperior frequency of the returns, four and twenty times more advantageous, than that which our North American colonies ever afforded. The trade of Great Britain would be juſt as advantageous to France, and, in proportion to the wealth, population and proximity of the reſpective countries, would have the ſame ſuperiority over that which France carries on with her own colonies. Such is the very great difference between that trade which the wiſdom of both nations has thought proper to diſcourage, and that which it has favoured the moſt.

BUT the very ſame circumſtances which would have rendered an open and free commerce between the two countries ſo advantageous to both, have occaſioned the principal obſtructions to that commerce. Being neighbours, they are neceſſarily enemies, and the wealth and power of each becomes, upon that account, more formidable to the other; and what would increaſe the advantage of national friendſhip, ſerves only to inflame the violence of national animoſity. They are both rich and induſtrious nations; and the merchants and manufacturers of each, dread the competition of the ſkill and activity of thoſe of the

the other. Mercantile jealousy is excited, and both inflames, and is itself inflamed, by the violence of national animosity: And the traders of both countries have announced, with all the passionate confidence of interested falsehood, the certain ruin of each, in consequence of that unfavourable balance of trade, which, they pretend, would be the infallible effect of an unrestrained commerce with the other.

THERE is no commercial country in Europe of which the approaching ruin has not frequently been foretold by the pretended doctors of this system, from an unfavourable balance of trade. After all the anxiety, however, which they have excited about this, after all the vain attempts of almost all trading nations to turn that balance in their own favour and against their neighbours, it does not appear that any one nation in Europe has been in any respect impoverished by this cause. Every town and country, on the contrary, in proportion as they have opened their ports to all nations, instead of being ruined by this free trade, as the principles of the commercial system would lead us to expect, have been enriched by it. Though there are in Europe, indeed, a few towns which in some respects deserve the name of free ports, there is no country which does so. Holland, perhaps, approaches the nearest to this character of any, though still very remote from it; and Holland, it is acknowledged, not only derives its whole wealth, but a great part of its necessary subsistence, from foreign trade.

THERE is another balance, indeed, which has already been explained, very different from the balance of trade, and which, according as it happens to be either favourable or unfavourable, necessarily occasions the prosperity or decay of every nation. This is the balance of the annual produce and consumption. If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, it has already been observed, exceeds that of the annual consumption,

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conſumption, the capital of the ſociety muſt annually increaſe in proportion to this exceſs. The ſociety in this caſe lives within its revenue, and what is annually ſaved out of its revenue, is naturally added to its capital, and employed ſo as to increaſe ſtill further the annual produce. If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, on the contrary, fall ſhort of the annual conſumption, the capital of the ſociety muſt annually decay in proportion to this deficiency. The expence of the ſociety in this caſe exceeds its revenue, and neceſſarily encroaches upon its capital. Its capital, therefore, muſt neceſſarily decay, and, together with it, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its induſtry.

THIS balance of produce and conſumption is entirely different from, what is called, the balance of trade. It might take place in a nation which had no foreign trade, but which was entirely ſeparated from all the world. It may take place in the whole globe of the earth, of which the wealth, population, and improvement may be either gradually increaſing or gradually decaying.

THE balance of produce and conſumption may be conſtantly in favour of a nation, though what is called the balance of trade be generally againſt it. A nation may import to a greater value than it exports for half a century, perhaps, together; the gold and ſilver which comes into it during all this time may be all immediately ſent out of it; its circulating coin may gradually decay, different ſorts of paper money being ſubſtituted in its place, and even the debts too which it contracts in the principal nations with whom it deals, may be gradually increaſing; and yet its real wealth, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its lands and labour, may, during the ſame period, have been increaſing in a much greater proportion. The ſtate of our North American colonies, and of the

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trade which they carried on with Great Britain, before the commencement of the preſent diſturbances,* may ſerve as a proof that this is by no means an impoſſible ſuppoſition.

CHAP. IV.

Of Drawbacks.

MERCHANTS and manufacturers are not contented with the monopoly of the home market, but deſire likewiſe the moſt extenſive foreign ſale for their goods. Their country has no juriſdiction in foreign nations, and therefore can ſeldom procure them any monopoly there. They are generally obliged, therefore, to content themſelves with petitioning for certain encouragements to exportation.

OF theſe encouragements what are called Drawbacks ſeem to be the moſt reaſonable. To allow the merchant to draw back upon exportation, either the whole or a part of whatever exciſe or inland duty is impoſed upon domeſtic induſtry, can never occaſion the exportation of a greater quantity of goods than what would have been exported had no duty been impoſed. Such encouragements do not tend to turn towards any particular employment a greater ſhare of the capital of the country, than what would go to that employment of its own accord, but only to hinder that duty from driving away any part of that ſhare to other employments. They tend not to overturn that balance which naturally eſtabliſhes itſelf among all the various employments of the ſociety; but to hinder it from being overturned by the duty. They tend not to deſtroy, but to preſerve, what it is in moſt caſes advan-

* This paragraph was written in the year 1775.

advantageous to preſerve, the natural diviſion and diſtribution of labour in the ſociety.

THE ſame thing may be ſaid of the drawbacks upon the re-exportation of foreign goods imported; which in Great Britain generally amount to by much the largeſt part of the duty upon importation. By the ſecond of the rules, annexed to the act of parliament, which impoſed, what is now called, the old ſubſidy, every merchant, whether Engliſh or alien, was allowed to draw back half that duty upon exportation; the Engliſh merchant, provided the exportation took place within twelve months; the alien, provided it took place within nine months. Wines, currants, and wrought ſilks were the only goods which did not fall within this rule, having other and more advantageous allowances. The duties impoſed by this act of parliament were, at that time, the only duties upon the importation of foreign goods. The term within which this, and all other drawbacks, could be claimed, was afterwards (by 7 Geo. I. chap. 21. ſect. 10.) extended to three years.

THE duties which have been impoſed ſince the old ſubſidy, are, the greater part of them, wholly drawn back upon exportation. This general rule, however, is liable to a great number of exceptions, and the doctrine of drawbacks has become a much leſs ſimple matter, than it was at their firſt inſtitution.

UPON the exportation of ſome foreign goods, of which it was expected that the importation would greatly exceed what was neceſſary for the home conſumption, the whole duties are drawn back, without retaining even half the old ſubſidy. Before the revolt of our North American colonies, we had the monopoly of the tobacco of Maryland and Virginia. We imported about ninety-ſix thouſand hogſheads, and the home conſumption was not ſuppoſed to exceed fourteen thouſand. To facilitate the great ex-

portation which was neceſſary, in order to rid us of the reſt, the whole duties were drawn back, provided the exportation took place within three years.

WE ſtill have, though not altogether, yet very nearly, the monopoly of the ſugars of our Weſt Indian Iſlands. If ſugars are exported within a year, therefore, all the duties upon importation are drawn back, and if exported within three years, all the duties, except half the old ſubſidy, which ſtill continues to be retained upon the exportation of the greater part of goods. Though the importation of ſugar exceeds a good deal what is neceſſary for the home conſumption, the exceſs is inconſiderable, in compariſon of what it uſed to be in tobacco.

SOME goods, the particular objects of the jealouſy of our own manufacturers, are prohibited to be imported for home conſumption. They may, however, upon paying certain duties, be imported and warehouſed for exportation. But upon ſuch exportation, no part of theſe duties are drawn back. Our manufacturers are unwilling, it ſeems, that even this reſtricted importation ſhould be encouraged, and are afraid leſt ſome part of theſe goods ſhould be ſtolen out of the warehouſe, and thus come into competition with their own. It is under theſe regulations only that we can import wrought ſilks, French cambrics and lawns, callicoes painted, printed, ſtained, or dyed, &c.

WE are unwilling even to be the carriers of French goods, and chooſe rather to forego a profit to ourſelves, than to ſuffer thoſe, whom we conſider as our enemies, to make any profit by our means. Not only half the old ſubſidy, but the ſecond twenty-five per cent. is retained upon the exportation of all French goods.

BY the fourth of the rules annexed to the old ſubſidy, the drawback allowed upon the exportation of all

all wines amounted to a great deal more than half the duties which were, at that time, paid upon their importation; and it seems, at that time, to have been the object of the legislature to give somewhat more than ordinary encouragement to the carrying trade in wine. Several of the other duties too, which were imposed, either at the same time, or subsequent to the old subsidy; what is called the additional duty, the new subsidy, the one-third and two-thirds subsidies, the impost 1692, the coinage on wine, were allowed to be wholly drawn back upon exportation. All those duties, however, except the additional duty and impost 1692, being paid down in ready money, upon importation, the interest of so large a sum occasioned an expence, which made it unreasonable to expect any profitable carrying trade in this article. Only a part, therefore, of the duty called the impost on wine, and no part of the twenty-five pounds the ton upon French wines, or of the duties imposed in 1745, in 1763, and in 1778, were allowed to be drawn back upon exportation. The two imposts of five per cent., imposed in 1779 and 1781, upon all the former duties of customs, being allowed to be wholly drawn back upon the exportation of all other goods, were likewise allowed to be drawn back upon that of wine. The last duty that has been particularly imposed upon wine, that of 1780, is allowed to be wholly drawn back; an indulgence which, when so many heavy duties are retained, most probably could never occasion the exportation of a single ton of wine. These rules take place with regard to all places of lawful exportation, except the British colonies in America.

THE 15th Charles II. chap. 7. called an act for the encouragement of trade, had given Great Britain the monopoly of supplying the colonies with all the commodities of the growth or manufacture of Europe; and consequently with wines. In a country

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of so extensive a coast as our North American and West Indian colonies, where our authority was always so very slender, and where the inhabitants were allowed to carry out, in their own ships, their non-enumerated commodities, at first, to all parts of Europe, and afterwards, to all parts of Europe, south of Cape Finisterre, it is not very probable that this monopoly could ever be much respected; and they probably, at all times, found means of bringing back some cargo from the countries to which they were allowed to carry out one. They seem, however, to have found some difficulty in importing European wines from the places of their growth, and they could not well import them from Great Britain, where they were loaded with many heavy duties, of which a considerable part was not drawn back upon exportation. Madeira wine, not being a European commodity, could be imported directly into America and the West Indies, countries which, in all their non-enumerated commodities, enjoyed a free trade to the island of Madeira. These circumstances had probably introduced that general taste for Madeira wine, which our officers found established in all our colonies at the commencement of the war, which began in 1755, and which they brought back with them to the mother-country, where that wine had not been much in fashion before. Upon the conclusion of that war, in 1763 (by the 4th Geo. III. chap. 15. sect. 12.), all the duties, except 3*l.* 10*s.* were allowed to be drawn back, upon the exportation to the colonies of all wines, except French wines, to the commerce and consumption of which, national prejudice would allow no sort of encouragement. The period between the granting of this indulgence and the revolt of our North American colonies was probably too short to admit of any considerable change in the customs of those countries.

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THE ſame act, which, in the drawback upon all wines, except French wines, thus favoured the colonies ſo much more than other countries; in thoſe, upon the greater part of other commodities, favoured them much leſs. Upon the exportation of the greater part of commodities to other countries, half the old ſubſidy was drawn back. But this law enacted that no part of that duty ſhould be drawn back upon the exportation to the colonies of any commodities, of the growth or manufacture either of Europe or the Eaſt Indies, except wines, white callicoes and muſlins.

DRAWBACKS were, perhaps, originally granted for the encouragement of the carrying trade, which, as the freight of the ſhips is frequently paid by foreigners in money, was ſuppoſed to be peculiarly fitted for bringing gold and ſilver into the country. But though the carrying trade certainly deſerves no peculiar encouragement, though the motive of the inſtitution was, perhaps, abundantly fooliſh, the inſtitution itſelf ſeems reaſonable enough. Such drawbacks cannot force into this trade a greater ſhare of the capital of the country than what would have gone to it of its own accord, had there been no duties upon importation. They only prevent its being excluded altogether by thoſe duties. The carrying trade, though it deſerves no preference, ought not to be precluded, but to be left free like all other trades. It is a neceſſary reſource for thoſe capitals which cannot find employment either in the agriculture or in the manufactures of the country, either in its home trade or in its foreign trade of conſumption.

THE revenue of the cuſtoms, inſtead of ſuffering, profits from ſuch drawbacks, by that part of the duty which is retained. If the whole duties had been retained, the foreign goods upon which they are paid, could ſeldom have been exported, nor conſequently imported, for want of a market. The duties, there-

fore, of which a part is retained, would never have been paid.

THESE reaſons ſeem ſufficiently to juſtify drawbacks, and would juſtify them, though the whole duties, whether upon the produce of domeſtic induſtry, or upon foreign goods, were always drawn back upon exportation. The revenue of exciſe would in this caſe, indeed, ſuffer a little, and that of the cuſtoms a good deal more; but the natural balance of induſtry, the natural diviſion and diſtribution of labour, which is always more or leſs diſturbed by ſuch duties, would be more nearly re-eſtabliſhed by ſuch a regulation.

THESE reaſons, however, will juſtify drawbacks only upon exporting goods to thoſe countries which are altogether foreign and independent, not to thoſe in which our merchants and manufacturers enjoy a monopoly. A drawback, for example, upon the exportation of European goods to our American colonies, will not always occaſion a greater exportation than what would have taken place without it. By means of the monopoly which our merchants and manufacturers enjoy there, the ſame quantity might frequently, perhaps, be ſent thither, though the whole duties were retained. The drawback, therefore, may frequently be pure loſs to the revenue of exciſe and cuſtoms, without altering the ſtate of the trade, or rendering it in any reſpect more extenſive. How far ſuch drawbacks can be juſtified, as a proper encouragement to the induſtry of our colonies, or how far it is advantageous to the mother-country, that they ſhould be exempted from taxes which are paid by all the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects, will appear hereafter when I come to treat of colonies.

DRAWBACKS, however, it muſt always be underſtood, are uſeful only in thoſe caſes in which the goods for the exportation of which they are given,

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are really exported to some foreign country; and not clandestinely re-imported into our own. That some drawbacks, particularly those upon tobacco, have frequently been abused in this manner, and have given occasion to many frauds equally hurtful both to the revenue and to the fair trader, is well known.

CHAP. V.

Of Bounties.

BOUNTIES upon exportation are, in Great Britain, frequently petitioned for, and sometimes granted to the produce of particular branches of domestic industry. By means of them our merchants and manufacturers, it is pretended, will be enabled to sell their goods as cheap, or cheaper than their rivals in the foreign market. A greater quantity, it is said, will thus be exported, and the balance of trade consequently turned more in favour of our own country. We cannot give our workmen a monopoly in the foreign, as we have done in the home market. We cannot force foreigners to buy their goods, as we have done our own countrymen. The next best expedient, it has been thought, therefore, is to pay them for buying. It is in this manner that the mercantile system proposes to enrich the whole country, and to put money into all our pockets by means of the balance of trade.

BOUNTIES, it is allowed, ought to be given to those branches of trade only which cannot be carried on without them. But every branch of trade in which the merchant can sell his goods for a price which replaces to him, with the ordinary profits of stock, the whole capital employed in preparing and sending

ſending them to market, can be carried on without a bounty. Every ſuch branch is evidently upon a level with all the other branches of trade which are carried on without bounties, and cannot therefore require one more than they. Thoſe trades only require bounties in which the merchant is obliged to ſell his goods for a price which does not replace to him his capital, together with the ordinary profit; or in which he is obliged to ſell them for leſs than it really coſts him to ſend them to market. The bounty is given in order to make up this loſs, and to encourage him to continue, or perhaps to begin, a trade of which the expence is ſuppoſed to be greater than the returns, of which every operation eats up a part of the capital employed in it, and which is of ſuch a nature, that, if all other trades reſembled it, there would ſoon be no capital left in the country.

THE trades, it is to be obſerved, which are carried on by means of bounties, are the only ones which can be carried on between two nations for any conſiderable time together, in ſuch a manner as that one of them ſhall always and regularly loſe, or ſell its goods for leſs than it really coſts to ſend them to market. But if the bounty did not repay to the merchant what he would otherwiſe loſe upon the price of his goods, his own intereſt would ſoon oblige him to employ his ſtock in another way, or to find out a trade in which the price of the goods would replace to him, with the ordinary profit, the capital employed in ſending them to market. The effect of bounties, like that of all the other expedients of the mercantile ſyſtem, can only be to force the trade of a country into a channel much leſs advantageous than that in which it would naturally run of its own accord.

THE ingenious and well-informed author of the tracts upon the corn trade has ſhown very clearly, that

that since the bounty upon the exportation of corn was first established, the price of the corn exported, valued moderately enough, has exceeded that of the corn imported, valued very high, by a much greater sum than the amount of the whole bounties which have been paid during that period. This, he imagines, upon the true principles of the mercantile system, is a clear proof that this forced corn trade is beneficial to the nation; the value of the exportation exceeding that of the importation by a much greater sum than the whole extraordinary expence which the public has been at in order to get it exported. He does not consider that this extraordinary expence, or the bounty, is the smallest part of the expence which the exportation of corn really costs the society. The capital which the farmer employed in raising it, must likewise be taken into the account. Unless the price of the corn when sold in the foreign markets replaces, not only the bounty, but this capital, together with the ordinary profits of stock, the society is a loser by the difference, or the national stock is so much diminished. But the very reason for which it has been thought necessary to grant a bounty, is the supposed insufficiency of the price to do this.

The average price of corn, it has been said, has fallen considerably since the establishment of the bounty. That the average price of corn began to fall somewhat towards the end of the last century, and has continued to do so during the course of the sixty-four first years of the present, I have already endeavoured to show. But this event, supposing it to be as real as I believe it to be, must have happened in spite of the bounty, and cannot possibly have happened in consequence of it. It has happened in France, as well as in England, though in France there was, not only no bounty, but, till 1764, the exportation

exportation of corn was subjected to a general prohibition. This gradual fall in the average price of grain, it is probable, therefore, is ultimately owing neither to the one regulation nor to the other, but to that gradual and insensible rise in the real value of silver, which, in the first book of this discourse, I have endeavoured to show has taken place in the general market of Europe, during the course of the present century. It seems to be altogether impossible that the bounty could ever contribute to lower the price of grain.

IN years of plenty, it has already been observed, the bounty, by occasioning an extraordinary exportation, necessarily keeps up the price of corn in the home market above what it would naturally fall to. To do so was the avowed purpose of the institution. In years of scarcity, though the bounty is frequently suspended, yet the great exportation which it occasions in years of plenty, must frequently hinder more or less the plenty of one year from relieving the scarcity of another. Both in years of plenty, and in years of scarcity, therefore, the bounty necessarily tends to raise the money price of corn somewhat higher than it otherwise would be in the home market.

THAT, in the actual state of tillage, the bounty must necessarily have this tendency, will not, I apprehend, be disputed by any reasonable person. But it has been thought by many people that it tends to encourage tillage, and that in two different ways; first, by opening a more extensive foreign market to the corn of the farmer, it tends, they imagine, to increase the demand for, and consequently the production of that commodity; and secondly, by securing to him a better price than he could otherwise expect in the actual state of tillage, it tends, they suppose, to encourage tillage. This double encouragement must, they imagine, in a long period of years, occasion such an increase

creaſe in the production of corn as may lower its price in the home market, much more than the bounty can raiſe it, in the actual ſtate which tillage may, at the end of that period, happen to be in.

I ANSWER, that whatever extenſion of the foreign market can be occaſioned by the bounty muſt, in every particular year, be altogether at the expence of the home market; as every buſhel of corn which is exported by means of the bounty, and which would not have been exported without the bounty, would have remained in the home market to increaſe the conſumption, and to lower the price of that commodity. The corn bounty, it is to be obſerved, as well as every other bounty upon exportation, impoſes two different taxes upon the people; firſt, the tax which they are obliged to contribute, in order to pay the bounty; and ſecondly, the tax which ariſes from the advanced price of the commodity in the home market, and which, as the whole body of the people are purchaſers of corn, muſt, in this particular commodity, be paid by the whole body of the people. In this particular commodity, therefore, this ſecond tax is by much the heavieſt of the two. Let us ſuppoſe that, taking one year with another, the bounty of five ſhillings upon the exportation of the quarter of wheat, raiſes the price of that commodity in the home market only ſixpence the buſhel, or four ſhillings the quarter, higher than it otherwiſe would have been in the actual ſtate of the crop. Even upon this very moderate ſuppoſition the great body of the people, over and above contributing to the tax which pays the bounty of five ſhillings upon every quarter of wheat exported, muſt pay another of four ſhillings upon every quarter which they themſelves conſume. But, according to the very well-informed author of the tracts upon the corn-trade, the average proportion of the corn exported to that conſumed at home, is not more than that of one to thirty-

ty-one. For every five ſhillings, therefore, which they contribute to the payment of the firſt tax, they muſt contribute ſix pounds four ſhillings to the payment of the ſecond. So very heavy a tax upon the firſt neceſſary of life, muſt either reduce the ſubſiſtence of the labouring poor, or it muſt occaſion ſome augmentation in their pecuniary wages, proportionable to that in the pecuniary price of their ſubſiſtence. So far as it operates in the one way, it muſt reduce the ability of the labouring poor to educate and bring up their children, and muſt, ſo far, tend to reſtrain the population of the country. So far as it operates in the other, it muſt reduce the ability of the employers of the poor, to employ ſo great a number as they otherwiſe might do, and muſt, ſo far, tend to reſtrain the induſtry of the country. The extraordinary exportation of corn, therefore, occaſioned by the bounty, not only in every particular year, diminiſhes the home, juſt as much as it extends the foreign market and conſumption, but, by reſtraining the population and induſtry of the country, its final tendency is to ſtunt and reſtrain the gradual extenſion of the home market; and thereby in the long run, rather to diminiſh, than to augment, the whole market and conſumption of corn.

THIS enhancement of the money price of corn, however, it has been thought, by rendering that commodity more profitable to the farmer, muſt neceſſarily encourage its production.

I ANSWER, that this might be the caſe if the effect of the bounty was to raiſe the real price of corn, or to enable the farmer, with an equal quantity of it, to maintain a greater number of labourers in the ſame manner, whether liberal, moderate, or ſcanty, that other labourers are commonly maintained in his neighbourhood. But neither the bounty, it is evident, nor any other human inſtitution, can have any ſuch effect.

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It is not the real, but the nominal price of corn, which can in any conſiderable degree be affected by the bounty. And though the tax which that inſtitution impoſes upon the whole body of the people, may be very burdenſome to thoſe who pay it, it is of very little advantage to thoſe who receive it.

THE real effect of the bounty is not ſo much to raiſe the real value of corn, as to degrade the real value of ſilver; or to make an equal quantity of it exchange for a ſmaller quantity, not only of corn, but of all other home-made commodities: for the money price of corn regulates that of all other home-made commodities.

IT regulates the money price of labour, which muſt always be ſuch as to enable the labourer to purchaſe a quantity of corn ſufficient to maintain him and his family either in the liberal, moderate, or ſcanty manner in which the advancing, ſtationary or declining circumſtances of the ſociety oblige his employers to maintain him.

IT regulates the money price of all the other parts of the rude produce of land, which, in every period of improvement, muſt bear a certain proportion to that of corn, though this proportion is different in different periods. It regulates, for example, the money price of graſs and hay, of butcher's meat, of horſes, and the maintenance of horſes, of land carriage conſequently, or of the greater part of the inland commerce of the country.

BY regulating the money price of all the other parts of the rude produce of land it regulates that of the materials of almoſt all manufactures. By regulating the money price of labour, it regulates that of manufacturing art and induſtry. And by regulating both, it regulates that of the complete manufacture. The money price of labour, and of every thing that is the produce either of land or labour, muſt neceſſarily either riſe or fall in proportion to the money price of corn.

THOUGH in consequence of the bounty, therefore, the farmer should be enabled to sell his corn for four shillings the bushel instead of three and sixpence, and to pay his landlord a money rent proportionable to this rise in the money price of his produce; yet if, in consequence of this rise in the price of corn, four shillings will purchase no more home-made goods of any other kind than three and sixpence would have done before, neither the circumstances of the farmer, nor those of the landlord, will be much mended by this change. The farmer will not be able to cultivate much better: the landlord will not be able to live much better. In the purchase of foreign commodities this enhancement in the price of corn may give them some little advantage. In that of home-made commodities it can give them none at all. And almost the whole expence of the farmer, and the far greater part even of that of the landlord, is in home-made commodities.

THAT degradation in the value of silver which is the effect of the fertility of the mines, and which operates equally, or very near equally, thro' the greater part of the commercial world, is a matter of very little consequence to any particular country. The consequent rise of all money prices, though it does not make those who receive them really richer, does not make them really poorer. A service of plate becomes really cheaper, and every thing else remains precisely of the same real value as before.

BUT that degradation in the value of silver which, being the effect either of the peculiar situation, or of the political institutions of a particular country, takes place only in that country, is a matter of very great consequence, which, far from tending to make any body really richer, tends to make every body really poorer. The rise in the money price of all commodities, which is in this case peculiar to that country,

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tends to discourage more or less every sort of industry which is carried on within it, and to enable foreign nations, by furnishing almost all sorts of goods for a smaller quantity of silver than its own workmen can afford to do, to undersell them, not only in the foreign, but even in the home market.

It is the peculiar situation of Spain and Portugal as proprietors of the mines, to be the distributors of gold and silver to all the other countries of Europe. Those metals ought naturally, therefore, to be somewhat cheaper in Spain and Portugal than in any other part of Europe. The difference, however, should be no more than the amount of the freight and insurance; and, on account of the great value and small bulk of those metals, their freight is no great matter, and their insurance is the same as that of any other goods of equal value. Spain and Portugal, therefore, could suffer very little from their peculiar situation, if they did not aggravate its disadvantages by their political institutions.

Spain by taxing, and Portugal by prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver, load that exportation with the expence of smuggling, and raise the value of those metals in other countries so much more above what it is in their own, by the whole amount of this expence. When you dam up a stream of water, as soon as the dam is full, as much water must run over the dam-head as if there was no dam at all. The prohibition of exportation cannot detain a greater quantity of gold and silver in Spain and Portugal than what they can afford to employ, than what the annual produce of their land and labour will allow them to employ, in coin, plate, gilding, and other ornaments of gold and silver. When they have got this quantity the dam is full, and the whole stream which flows in afterwards must run over. The annual exportation of gold and silver from Spain and Portugal accordingly

is,

is, by all accounts, notwithſtanding theſe reſtraints, very near equal to the whole annual importation. As the water, however, muſt always be deeper behind the dam-head than before it, ſo the quantity of gold and ſilver which theſe reſtraints detain in Spain and Portugal muſt, in proportion to the annual produce of their land and labour, be greater than what is to be found in other countries. The higher and ſtronger the dam-head, the greater muſt be the difference in the depth of water behind and before it. The higher the tax, the higher the penalties with which the prohibition is guarded, the more vigilant and ſevere the police which looks after the execution of the law, the greater muſt be the difference in the proportion of gold and ſilver to the annual produce of the land and labour of Spain and Portugal, and to that of other countries. It is ſaid accordingly to be very conſiderable, and that you frequently find there a profuſion of plate in houſes, where there is nothing elſe which would, in other countries, be thought ſuitable or correſpondent to this ſort of magnificence. The cheapneſs of gold and ſilver, or, what is the ſame thing, the dearneſs of all commodities, which is the neceſſary effect of this redundancy of the precious metals, diſcourages both the agriculture and manufactures of Spain and Portugal, and enables foreign nations to ſupply them with many ſorts of rude, and with almoſt all ſorts of manufactured produce, for a ſmaller quantity of gold and ſilver than what they themſelves can either raiſe or make them for at home. The tax and prohibition operate in two different ways. They not only lower very much the value of the precious metals in Spain and Portugal, but by detaining there a certain quantity of thoſe metals which would otherwiſe flow over other countries, they keep up their value in thoſe other countries ſomewhat above what it otherwiſe would be, and thereby give thoſe countries

tries a double advantage in their commerce with Spain and Portugal. Open the flood-gates, and there will presently be less water above, and more below, the dam-head, and it will soon come to a level in both places. Remove the tax and the prohibition, and as the quantity of gold and silver will diminish considerably in Spain and Portugal, so it will increase somewhat in other countries, and the value of those metals, their proportion to the annual produce of land and labour, will soon come to a level, or very near to a level, in all. The loss which Spain and Portugal could sustain by this exportation of their gold and silver would be altogether nominal and imaginary. The nominal value of their goods, and of the annual produce of their land and labour, would fall, and would be expressed or represented by a smaller quantity of silver than before: but their real value would be the same as before, and would be sufficient to maintain, command, and employ, the same quantity of labour. As the nominal value of their goods would fall, the real value of what remained of their gold and silver would rise, and a smaller quantity of those metals would answer all the same purposes of commerce and circulation which had employed a greater quantity before. The gold and silver which would go abroad would not go abroad for nothing, but would bring back an equal value of goods of some kind or another. Those goods too would not be all matters of mere luxury and expence, to be consumed by idle people who produce nothing in return for their consumption. As the real wealth and revenue of idle people would not be augmented by this extraordinary exportation of gold and silver, so neither would their consumption be much augmented by it. Those goods would, probably, the greater part of them, and certainly some part of them, consist in materials, tools, and provisions, for the employment and maintenance of industrious people, who

would reproduce, with a profit, the full value of their conſumption. A part of the dead ſtock of the ſociety would thus be turned into active ſtock, and would put into motion a greater quantity of induſtry than had been employed before. The annual produce of their land and labour would immediately be augmented a little, and in a few years would, probably, be augmented a great deal; their induſtry being thus relieved from one of the moſt oppreſſive burdens which it at preſent labours under.

THE bounty upon the exportation of corn neceſſarily operates exactly in the ſame way as this abſurd policy of Spain and Portugal. Whatever be the actual ſtate of tillage, it renders our corn ſomewhat dearer in the home market than it otherwiſe would be in that ſtate, and ſomewhat cheaper in the foreign; and as the average money price of corn regulates more or leſs that of all other commodities, it lowers the value of ſilver conſiderably in the one, and tends to raiſe it a little in the other. It enables foreigners, the Dutch in particular, not only to eat our corn cheaper than they otherwiſe could do, but ſometimes to eat it cheaper than even our own people can do upon the ſame occaſions; as we are aſſured by an excellent authority, that of Sir Matthew Decker. It hinders our own workmen from furniſhing their goods for ſo ſmall a quantity of ſilver as they otherwiſe might do; and enables the Dutch to furniſh their's for a ſmaller. It tends to render our manufactures ſomewhat dearer in every market, and their's ſomewhat cheaper than they otherwiſe would be, and conſequently to give their induſtry a double advantage over our own.

THE bounty, as it raiſes in the home market, not ſo much the real, as the nominal price of our corn, as it augments, not the quantity of labour which a certain quantity of corn can maintain and employ, but

but only the quantity of silver which it will exchange for, it discourages our manufactures, without rendering any considerable service either to our farmers or country gentlemen. It puts, indeed, a little more money into the pockets of both, and it will perhaps be somewhat difficult to persuade the greater part of them that this is not rendering them a very considerable service. But if this money sinks in its value, in the quantity of labour, provisions, and home-made commodities of all different kinds which it is capable of purchasing, as much as it rises in its quantity, the service will be little more than nominal and imaginary.

THERE is, perhaps, but one set of men in the whole commonwealth to whom the bounty either was or could be essentially serviceable. These were the corn merchants, the exporters and importers of corn. In years of plenty the bounty necessarily occasioned a greater exportation than would otherwise have taken place; and by hindering the plenty of one year from relieving the scarcity of another, it occasioned in years of scarcity a greater importation than would otherwise have been necessary. It increased the business of the corn merchant in both; and in years of scarcity, it not only enabled him to import a greater quantity, but to sell it for a better price, and consequently with a greater profit than he could otherwise have made, if the plenty of one year had not been more or less hindered from relieving the scarcity of another. It is in this set of men, accordingly, that I have observed the greatest zeal for the continuance or renewal of the bounty.

OUR country gentlemen, when they imposed the high duties upon the importation of foreign corn, which in times of moderate plenty amount to a prohibition, and when they established the bounty, seem to have imitated the conduct of our manufacturers.

By

By the one inſtitution, they ſecured to themſelves the monopoly of the home market, and by the other they endeavoured to prevent that market from ever being over ſtocked with their commodity. By both they endeavoured to raiſe its real value, in the ſame manner as our manufacturers had, by the like inſtitutions, raiſed the real value of many different ſorts of manufactured goods. They did not perhaps attend to the great and eſſential difference which nature has eſtabliſhed between corn and almoſt every other ſort of goods. When, either by the monopoly of the home market, or by a bounty upon exportation, you enable our woollen or linen manufacturers to ſell their goods for ſomewhat a better price than they otherwiſe could get for them, you raiſe, not only the nominal, but the real price of thoſe goods. You render them equivalent to a greater quantity of labour and ſubſiſtence, you increaſe not only the nominal, but the real profit, the real wealth and revenue of thoſe manufacturers, and you enable them either to live better themſelves, or to employ a greater quantity of labour in thoſe particular manufactures. You really encourage thoſe manufactures, and direct towards them a greater quantity of the induſtry of the country, than would probably go to them of its own accord. But when by the like inſtitutions you raiſe the nominal or money-price of corn, you do not raiſe its real value. You do not increaſe the real wealth, the real revenue either of our farmers or country gentlemen. You do not encourage the growth of corn, becauſe you do not enable them to maintain and employ more labourers in raiſing it. The nature of things has ſtamped upon corn a real value which cannot be altered by merely altering its money price. No bounty upon exportation, no monopoly of the home market, can raiſe that value. The freeſt competition cannot lower it.

Through

Through the world in general that value is equal to the quantity of labour which it can maintain, and in every particular place it is equal to the quantity of labour which it can maintain in the way, whether liberal, moderate, or ſcanty, in which labour is commonly maintained in that place. Woollen or linen cloth are not the regulating commodities by which the real value of all other commodities muſt be finally meaſured and determined; corn is. The real value of every other commodity is finally meaſured and determined by the proportion which its average money price bears to the average money price of corn. The real value of corn does not vary with thoſe variations in its average money price, which ſometimes occur from one century to another. It is the real value of ſilver which varies with them.

BOUNTIES upon the exportation of any home-made commodity are liable, firſt, to that general objection which may be made to all the different expedients of the mercantile ſyſtem; the objection of forcing ſome part of the induſtry of the country into a channel leſs advantageous than that in which it would run of its own accord: and, ſecondly, to the particular objection of forcing it, not only into a channel that is leſs advantageous, but into one that is actually diſadvantageous; the trade which cannot be carried on but by means of a bounty being neceſſarily a loſing trade. The bounty upon the exportation of corn is liable to this further objection, that it can in no reſpect promote the raiſing of that particular commodity of which it was meant to encourage the production. When our country gentlemen, therefore, demanded the eſtabliſhment of the bounty, though they acted in imitation of our merchants and manufacturers, they did not act with that complete comprehenſion of their own intereſt which commonly directs the conduct of thoſe two other orders of people.

people. They loaded the public revenue with a very conſiderable expence; they impoſed a very heavy tax upon the whole body of the people; but they did not, in any ſenſible degree, increaſe the real value of their own commodity; and by lowering ſomewhat the real value of ſilver, they diſcouraged, in ſome degree, the general induſtry of the country, and, inſtead of advancing, retarded more or leſs the improvement of their own lands, which neceſſarily depends upon the general induſtry of the country.

To encourage the production of any commodity, a bounty upon production, one ſhould imagine, would have a more direct operation, than one upon exportation. It would, beſides, impoſe only one tax upon the people, that which they muſt contribute in order to pay the bounty. Inſtead of raiſing, it would tend to lower the price of the commodity in the home market; and thereby, inſtead of impoſing a ſecond tax upon the people, it might, at leaſt, in part, repay them for what they had contributed to the firſt. Bounties upon production, however, have been very rarely granted. The prejudices eſtabliſhed by the commercial ſyſtem have taught us to believe, that national wealth ariſes more immediately from exportation than from production. It has been more favoured accordingly, as the more immediate means of bringing money into the country. Bounties upon production, it has been ſaid too, have been found by experience more liable to frauds than thoſe upon exportation. How far this is true, I know not. That bounties upon exportation have been abuſed to many fraudulent purpoſes, is very well known. But it is not the intereſt of merchants and manufacturers, the great inventors of all theſe expedients, that the home market ſhould be overſtocked with their goods, an event which a bounty upon production might ſometimes occaſion. A bounty upon

upon exportation, by enabling them to ſend abroad the ſurplus part, and to keep up the price of what remains in the home market, effectually prevents this. Of all the expedients of the mercantile ſyſtem, accordingly, it is the one of which they are the fondeſt. I have known the different undertakers of ſome particular works agree privately among themſelves to give a bounty out of their own pockets upon the exportation of a certain proportion of the goods which they dealt in. This expedient ſucceeded ſo well, that it more than doubled the price of their goods in the home market, notwithſtanding a very conſiderable increaſe in the produce. The operation of the bounty upon corn muſt have been wonderfully different, if it has lowered the money price of that commodity.

SOMETHING like a bounty upon production, however, has been granted upon ſome particular occaſions. The tonnage bounties given to the white-herring and whale fiſheries may, perhaps, be conſidered as ſomewhat of this nature. They tend directly, it may be ſuppoſed to render the goods cheaper in the home market than they otherwiſe would be. In other reſpects their effects, it muſt be acknowledged, are the ſame as thoſe of bounties upon exportation. By means of them a part of the capital of the country is employed in bringing goods to market, of which the price does not repay the coſt, together with the ordinary profits of ſtock.

BUT though the tonnage bounties to thoſe fiſheries do not contribute to the opulence of the nation, it may perhaps be thought, that they contribute to its defence, by augmenting the number of its ſailors and ſhipping. This, it may be alleged, may ſometimes be done by means of ſuch bounties at a much ſmaller expence, than by keeping up a great ſtanding navy,

if

if I may use such an expression, in the same way as a standing army.

NOTWITHSTANDING these favourable allegations, however, the following considerations dispose me to believe that in granting at least one of these bounties, the legislature has been very grossly imposed upon.

FIRST, the herring buss bounty seems too large.

FROM the commencement of the winter fishing 1771 to the end of the winter fishing 1781, the tonnage bounty upon the herring buss fishery has been at thirty shillings the ton. During these eleven years the whole number of barrels caught by the herring buss fishery of Scotland amounted to 378,347. The herrings caught and cured at sea, are called sea sticks. In order to render them what are called merchantable herrings, it is necessary to repack them with an additional quantity of salt; and in this case, it is reckoned, that three barrels of sea sticks, are usually repacked into two barrels of merchantable herrings. The number of barrels of merchantable herrings, therefore, caught during these eleven years, will amount only, according to this account, to 252,231⅓. During these eleven years the tonnage bounties paid amounted to 155,463*l.* 11*s.* or to 8*s.* 2¼*d.* upon every barrel of sea sticks, and to 12*s.* 3¾*d.* upon every barrel of merchantable herrings.

THE salt with which these herrings are cured, is sometimes Scotch, and sometimes foreign salt; both which are delivered free of all excise duty to the fish-curers. The excise duty upon Scotch salt is at present 1*s.* 6*d.* that upon foreign salt 10*s.* the bushel. A barrel of herrings is supposed to require about one bushel and one-fourth of a bushel foreign salt. Two bushels are the supposed average of Scotch salt. If the herrings are entered for exportation, no part of this duty is paid up: if entered for home consumption, whether the herrings were cured with foreign or with Scotch

Scotch ſalt, only one ſhilling the barrel is paid up.—It was the old Scotch duty upon a buſhel of ſalt, the quantity which, at a low eſtimation, had been ſuppoſed neceſſary for curing a barrel of herrings. In Scotland, foreign ſalt is very little uſed for any other purpoſe but the curing of fiſh. But from the 5th April 1771, to the 5th April 1782, the quantity of foreign ſalt imported amounted to 936,974 buſhels, at eighty-four pounds the buſhel: the quantity of Scotch ſalt, delivered from the works to the fiſh curers, to no more than 168,226, at fifty-ſix pounds the buſhel only. It would appear, therefore, that it is principally foreign ſalt that is uſed in the fiſheries. Upon every barrel of herrings exported there is, beſides, a bounty of 2*s.* 8*d.* and more than two-thirds of the buſs caught herrings are exported. Put all theſe things together and you will find, that, during theſe eleven years, every barrel of buſs caught herrings, cured with Scotch ſalt when exported, has coſt government 17*s.* 11¼*d.*; and when entered for home conſumption 14*s.* 3¼*d:* and that every barrel cured with foreign ſalt, when exported, has coſt government 1*l.* 7*s.* 5¼*d*; and when entered for home conſumption 1*l.* 3*s.* 9¼*d.* The price of a barrel of good merchantable herrings runs from ſeventeen and eighteen to four and five and twenty ſhillings; about a guinea at an average.*

SECONDLY, the bounty to the white herring fiſhery is a tonnage bounty; and is proportioned to the burden of the ſhip, not to her diligence or ſucceſs in the fiſhery; and it has, I am afraid, been too common for veſſels to fit out for the ſole purpoſe of catching, not the fiſh, but the bounty. In the year 1759, when the bounty was at fifty ſhillings the ton, the whole buſs fiſhery of Scotland brought in only four barrels of ſea ſticks. In that year each barrel of ſea

* See the accounts at the end of the volume.

ſticks coſt government in bounties alone 113*l.* 15*s.*; each barrel of merchantable herrings 159*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THIRDLY, the mode of fiſhing for which this tonnage bounty in the white herring fiſhery has been given (by buſſes or decked veſſels from twenty to eighty tons burthen), ſeems not ſo well adapted to the ſituation of Scotland as to that of Holland; from the practice of which country it appears to have been borrowed. Holland lies at a great diſtance from the ſeas to which herrings are known principally to reſort; and can, therefore, carry on that fiſhery only in decked veſſels, which can carry water and proviſions ſufficient for a voyage to a diſtant ſea. But the Hebrides or weſtern iſlands, and the iſlands of Shetland, and the northern and north-weſtern coaſts of Scotland, the countries in whoſe neighbourhood the herring fiſhery is principally carried on, are every where interſected by arms of the ſea, which run up a conſiderable way into the land, and which, in the language of the country, are called ſea-lochs. It is to theſe ſea-lochs that the herrings principally reſort, during the ſeaſons in which they viſit thoſe ſeas; for the viſits of this, and, I am aſſured, of many other ſorts of fiſh, are not quite regular and conſtant. A boat fiſhery, therefore, ſeems to be the mode of fiſhing beſt adapted to the peculiar ſituation of Scotland; the fiſhers carrying the herrings on ſhore, as faſt as they are taken, to be either cured or conſumed freſh. But the great encouragement, which a bounty of thirty ſhillings the ton gives to the buſs fiſhery, is neceſſarily a diſcouragement to the boat fiſhery; which, having no ſuch bounty, cannot bring its cured fiſh to market upon the ſame terms as the buſs fiſhery. The boat fiſhery, accordingly, which, before the eſtabliſhment of the buſs bounty, was very conſiderable, and is ſaid to have employed a number of ſeamen, not inferior to what the buſs fiſhery employs at preſent, is now gone almoſt entirely to decay.

Of

Of the former extent, however, of this now ruined and abandoned fishery, I must acknowledge, that I cannot pretend to speak with much precision. As no bounty was paid upon the outfit of the boat-fishery, no account was taken of it by the officers of the customs or salt duties.

FOURTHLY, in many parts of Scotland, during certain seasons of the year, herrings make no inconsiderable part of the food of the common people. A bounty which tended to lower their price in the home market, might contribute a good deal to the relief of a great number of our fellow-subjects, whose circumstances are by no means affluent. But the herring buss bounty contributes to no such good purpose. It has ruined the boat fishery, which is, by far, the best adapted for the supply of the home market, and the additional duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* the barrel upon exportation, carries the greater part, more than two thirds, of the produce of the buss fishery abroad. Between thirty and forty years ago, before the establishment of the buss bounty, sixteen shillings the barrel, I have been assured, was the common price of white herrings. Between ten and fifteen years ago, before the boat fishery was entirely ruined, the price is said to have run from seventeen to twenty shillings the barrel. For these last five years it has, at an average, been at twenty-five shillings the barrel. This high price, however, may have been owing to the real scarcity of the herrings upon the coast of Scotland. I must observe too, that the cask or barrel, which is usually sold with the herrings, and of which the price is included in all the foregoing prices, has, since the commencement of the American war, risen to about double its former price, or from about three shillings to about six shillings. I must likewise observe, that the accounts I have received of the prices of former times, have been by no means quite uniform and consistent; and

and an old man of great accuracy and experience has assured me, that more than fifty years ago, a guinea was the usual price of a barrel of good merchantable herrings; and this, I imagine, may still be looked upon as the average price. All accounts, however, I think, agree, that the price has not been lowered in the home market in consequence of the buss bounty.

WHEN the undertakers of fisheries, after such liberal bounties have been bestowed upon them, continue to sell their commodity at the same, or even at a higher price than they were accustomed to do before, it might be expected that their profits should be very great; and it is not improbable that those of some individuals may have been so. In general, however, I have every reason to believe they have been quite otherwise. The usual effect of such bounties is to encourage rash undertakers to adventure in a business which they do not understand, and what they lose by their own negligence and ignorance, more than compensates all that they can gain by the utmost liberality of government. In 1750, by the same act, which first gave the bounty of thirty shillings the ton for the encouragement of the white herring fishery (the 23 Geo. II. chap. 24.), a joint stock company was erected, with a capital of five hundred thousand pounds, to which the subscribers (over and above all other encouragements, the tonnage bounty just now mentioned, the exportation bounty of two shillings and eightpence the barrel, the delivery of both British and foreign salt duty free) were, during the space of fourteen years, for every hundred pounds which they subscribed and paid into the stock of the society, entitled to three pounds a year, to be paid by the receiver-general of the customs in equal half-yearly payments. Besides this great company, the residence of whose governor and directors was to be in London, it was declared lawful to erect different fishing-

chambers

chambers in all the different out-ports of the kingdom, provided a ſum not leſs than ten thouſand pounds was ſubſcribed into the capital of each, to be managed at its own riſk, and for its own profit and loſs. The ſame annuity, and the ſame encouragements of all kinds, were given to the trade of thoſe inferior chambers, as to that of the great company. The ſubſcription of the great company was ſoon filled up, and ſeveral different fiſhing-chambers were erected in the different out-ports of the kingdom. In ſpite of all theſe encouragements, almoſt all thoſe different companies, both great and ſmall, loſt either the whole, or the greater part of their capitals; ſcarce a veſtige now remains of any of them, and the white herring fiſhery is now entirely, or almoſt entirely, carried on by private adventurers.

If any particular manufacture was neceſſary, indeed, for the defence of the ſociety, it might not always be prudent to depend upon our neighbours for the ſupply; and if ſuch manufacture could not otherwiſe be ſupported at home, it might not be unreaſonable that all the other branches of induſtry ſhould be taxed in order to ſupport it. The bounties upon the exportation of Britiſh-made ſail-cloth, and Britiſh-made gun-powder, may, perhaps, both be vindicated upon this principle.

But though it can very ſeldom be reaſonable to tax the induſtry of the great body of the people, in order to ſupport that of ſome particular claſs of manufacturers; yet in the wantonneſs of great proſperity, when the public enjoys a greater revenue than it knows well what to do with, to give ſuch bounties to favourite manufactures, may, perhaps, be as natural, as to incur any other idle expence. In public, as well as in private expences, great wealth may, perhaps, frequently be admitted as an apology for great folly. But there muſt ſurely be ſomething more

than ordinary abſurdity, in continuing ſuch profuſion in times of general difficulty and diſtreſs.

WHAT is called a bounty is ſometimes no more than a drawback, and conſequently is not liable to the ſame objections as what is properly a bounty. The bounty, for example, upon refined ſugar exported, may be conſidered as a drawback of the duties upon the brown and muſcovado ſugars, from which it is made. The bounty upon wrought ſilk exported, a drawback of the duties upon raw and thrown ſilk imported. The bounty upon gunpowder exported, a drawback of the duties upon brimſtone and ſaltpetre imported. In the language of the cuſtoms thoſe allowances only are called drawbacks, which are given upon goods exported in the ſame form in which they are imported. When that form has been ſo altered by manufacture of any kind, as to come under a new denomination, they are called bounties.

PREMIUMS given by the public to artiſts and manufacturers who excel in their particular occupations, are not liable to the ſame objections as bounties. By encouraging extraordinary dexterity and ingenuity, they ſerve to keep up the emulation of the workmen actually employed in thoſe reſpective occupations, and are not conſiderable enough to turn towards any one of them a greater ſhare of the capital of the country than what would go to it of its own accord. Their tendency is not to overturn the natural balance of employments, but to render the work which is done in each as perfect and complete as poſſible. The expence of premiums, beſides, is very trifling; that of bounties very great. The bounty upon corn alone has ſometimes coſt the public in one year, more than three hundred thouſand pounds.

BOUNTIES are ſometimes called premiums, as drawbacks are ſometimes called bounties. But we

must in all cases attend to the nature of the thing, without paying any regard to the word.

Digression concerning the Corn Trade and Corn Laws.

I CANNOT conclude this chapter concerning bounties, without observing that the praises which have been bestowed upon the law which establishes the bounty upon the exportation of corn, and upon that system of regulations which is connected with it, are altogether unmerited. A particular examination of the nature of the corn trade, and of the principal British laws which relate to it, will sufficiently demonstrate the truth of this assertion. The great importance of this subject must justify the length of the digression.

THE trade of the corn merchant is composed of four different branches, which, though they may sometimes be all carried on by the same person, are in their own nature four separate and distinct trades. These are, first, the trade of the inland dealer; secondly, that of the merchant importer for home consumption; thirdly, that of the merchant exporter of home produce for foreign consumption; and, fourthly, that of the merchant carrier, or of the importer of corn in order to export it again.

I. THE interest of the inland dealer, and that of the great body of the people, how opposite soever they may at first sight appear, are, even in years of the greatest scarcity, exactly the same. It is his interest to raise the price of his corn as high as the real scarcity of the season requires, and it can never be his interest to raise it higher. By raising the price he discourages the consumption, and puts every body more or less, but particularly the inferior ranks of people, upon thrift and good management. If, by raising it too high, he discourages the consumption so

ſo much that the ſupply of the ſeaſon is likely to go beyond the conſumption of the ſeaſon, and to laſt for ſome time after the next crop begins to come in, he runs the hazard, not only of loſing a conſiderable part of his corn by natural cauſes, but of being obliged to ſell what remains of it for much leſs than what he might have had for it ſeveral months before. If by not raiſing the price high enough he diſcourages the conſumption ſo little, that the ſupply of the ſeaſon is likely to fall ſhort of the conſumption of the ſeaſon, he not only loſes a part of the profit which he might otherwiſe have made, but he expoſes the people to ſuffer before the end of the ſeaſon, inſtead of the hardſhips of a dearth, the dreadful horrors of a famine. It is the intereſt of the people that their daily, weekly, and monthly conſumption, ſhould be proportioned as exactly as poſſible to the ſupply of the ſeaſon. The intereſt of the inland corn dealer is the ſame. By ſupplying them, as nearly as he can judge, in this proportion, he is likely to ſell all his corn for the higheſt price, and with the greateſt profit; and his knowledge of the ſtate of the crop, and of his daily, weekly, and monthly ſales, enable him to judge, with more or leſs accuracy, how far they really are ſupplied in this manner. Without intending the intereſt of the people, he is neceſſarily led, by a regard to his own intereſt, to treat them, even in years of ſcarcity, pretty much in the ſame manner as the prudent maſter of a veſſel is ſometimes obliged to treat his crew. When he foreſees that proviſions are likely to run ſhort, he puts them upon ſhort allowance. Though from exceſs of caution he ſhould ſometimes do this without any real neceſſity, yet all the inconveniencies which his crew can thereby ſuffer are inconſiderable, in compariſon of the danger, miſery, and ruin, to which they might ſometimes be expoſed by a leſs provident conduct. Though

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from exceſs of avarice, in the ſame manner, the inland corn merchant ſhould ſometimes raiſe the price of his corn ſomewhat higher than the ſcarcity of the ſeaſon requires, yet all the inconveniences which the people can ſuffer from this conduct, which effectually ſecures them from a famine in the end of the ſeaſon, are inconſiderable, in compariſon of what they might have been expoſed to by a more liberal way of dealing in the beginning of it. The corn merchant himſelf is likely to ſuffer the moſt by this exceſs of avarice; not only from the indignation which it generally excites againſt him, but, though he ſhould eſcape the effects of this indignation, from the quantity of corn which it neceſſarily leaves upon his hands in the end of the ſeaſon, and which, if the next ſeaſon happens to prove favourable, he muſt always ſell for a much lower price than he might otherwiſe have had.

WERE it poſſible, indeed, for one great company of merchants to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole crop of an extenſive country, it might, perhaps, be their intereſt to deal with it as the Dutch are ſaid to do with the ſpiceries of the Moluccas, to deſtroy or throw away a conſiderable part of it, in order to keep up the price of the reſt. But it is ſcarce poſſible, even by the violence of the law, to eſtabliſh ſuch an extenſive monopoly with regard to corn; and, wherever the law leaves the trade free, it is of all commodities the leaſt liable to be engroſſed or monopolized by the force of a few large capitals, which buy up the greater part of it. Not only its value far exceeds what the capitals of a few private men are capable of purchaſing, but, ſuppoſing they were capable of purchaſing it, the manner in which it is produced renders this purchaſe altogether impracticable. As in every civilized country it is the commodity of which the annual conſumption is the greateſt, ſo a greater quantity of induſtry

duſtry is annually employed in producing corn than in producing any other commodity. When it firſt comes from the ground too, it is neceſſarily divided among a greater number of owners than any other commodity; and theſe owners can never be collected into one place like a number of independent manufacturers, but are neceſſarily ſcattered through all the different corners of the country. Theſe firſt owners either immediately ſupply the conſumers in their own neighbourhood, or they ſupply other inland dealers who ſupply thoſe conſumers. The inland dealers in corn, therefore, including both the farmer and the baker, are neceſſarily more numerous than the dealers in any other commodity, and their diſperſed ſituation renders it altogether impoſſible for them to enter into any general combination. If in a year of ſcarcity therefore, any of them ſhould find that he had a good deal more corn upon hand than, at the current price, he could hope to diſpoſe of before the end of the ſeaſon, he would never think of keeping up this price to his own loſs, and to the ſole benefit of his rivals and competitors, but would immediately lower it, in order to get rid of his corn before the new crop began to come in. The ſame motives, the ſame intereſts, which would thus regulate the conduct of any one dealer, would regulate that of every other, and oblige them all in general to ſell their corn at the price which, according to the beſt of their judgment, was moſt ſuitable to the ſcarcity or plenty of the ſeaſon.

WHOEVER examines with attention, the hiſtory of the dearths and famines which have afflicted any part of Europe, during either the courſe of the preſent or that of the two preceding centuries, of ſeveral of which we have pretty exact accounts, will find, I believe, that a dearth never has ariſen from any combination among the inland dealers in corn, nor from any other cauſe but a real ſcarcity, occaſioned ſometimes,

times, perhaps, and in ſome particular places, by the waſte of war, but in by far the greateſt number of caſes, by the fault of the ſeaſons; and that a famine has never ariſen from any other cauſe but the violence of government attempting, by improper means, to remedy the inconveniencies of a dearth.

In an extenſive corn country, between all the different parts of which there is a free commerce and communication, the ſcarcity occaſioned by the moſt unfavourable ſeaſons can never be ſo great as to produce a famine; and the ſcantieſt crop, if managed with frugality and œconomy, will maintain, through the year, the ſame number of people that are commonly fed in a more affluent manner by one of moderate plenty. The ſeaſons moſt unfavourable to the crop are thoſe of exceſſive drought or exceſſive rain. But, as corn grows equally upon high and low lands, upon grounds that are diſpoſed to be too wet, and upon thoſe that are diſpoſed to be too dry, either the drought or the rain which is hurtful to one part of the country is favourable to another; and though both in the wet and in the dry ſeaſon the crop is a good deal leſs than in one more properly tempered, yet in both what is loſt in one part of the country is in ſome meaſure compenſated by what is gained in the other. In rice countries, where the crop not only requires a very moiſt ſoil, but where in a certain period of its growing it muſt be laid under water, the effects of a drought are much more diſmal. Even in ſuch countries, however, the drought is, perhaps, ſcarce ever ſo univerſal as neceſſarily to occaſion a famine, if the government would allow a free trade. The drought in Bengal, a few years ago, might probably have occaſioned a very great dearth. Some improper regulations, ſome injudicious reſtraints impoſed by the ſervants of the Eaſt India Company upon the rice trade, contributed, perhaps, to turn that dearth into a famine.

WHEN the government, in order to remedy the inconveniencies of a dearth, orders all the dealers to sell their corn at what it ſuppoſes a reaſonable price, it either hinders them from bringing it to market, which may ſometimes produce a famine even in the beginning of the ſeaſon; or if they bring it thither, it enables the people, and thereby encourages them to conſume it ſo faſt, as muſt neceſſarily produce a famine before the end of the ſeaſon. The unlimited, unreſtrained freedom of the corn trade, as it is the only effectual preventative of the miſeries of a famine, ſo it is the beſt palliative of the inconveniencies of a dearth; for the inconveniencies of a real ſcarcity cannot be remedied; they can only be palliated. No trade deſerves more the full protection of the law, and no trade requires it ſo much; becauſe no trade is ſo much expoſed to popular odium.

IN years of ſcarcity the inferior ranks of people impute their diſtreſs to the avarice of the corn merchant, who becomes the object of their hatred and indignation. Inſtead of making profit upon ſuch occaſions, therefore, he is often in danger of being utterly ruined, and of having his magazines plundered and deſtroyed by their violence. It is in years of ſcarcity, however, when prices are high, that the corn merchant expects to make his principal profit. He is generally in contract with ſome farmers to furniſh him for a certain number of years with a certain quantity of corn at a certain price. This contract price is ſettled according to what is ſuppoſed to be the moderate and reaſonable, that is, the ordinary or average price, which, before the late years of ſcarcity, was commonly about eight-and-twenty ſhillings for the quarter of wheat, and for that of other grain in proportion. In years of ſcarcity, therefore, the corn merchant buys a great part of his corn for the ordinary price, and ſells it for a much higher. That this extra-

extraordinary profit, however, is no more than sufficient to put his trade upon a fair level with other trades, and to compensate the many losses which he sustains upon other occasions, both from the perishable nature of the commodity itself, and from the frequent and unforeseen fluctuations of its price, seems evident enough, from this single circumstance, that great fortunes are as seldom made in this as in any other trade. The popular odium, however, which attends it in years of scarcity, the only years in which it can be very profitable, renders people of character and fortune averse to enter into it. It is abandoned to an inferior sort of dealers; and millers, bakers, mealmen, and meal factors, together with a number of wretched hucksters, are almost the only middle people that, in the home market, come between the grower and the consumer.

The ancient policy of Europe, instead of discountenancing this popular odium against a trade so beneficial to the public, seems, on the contrary, to have authorised and encouraged it.

By the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. cap. 14, it was enacted, That whoever should buy any corn or grain with intent to sell it again, should be reputed an unlawful engrosser, and should, for the first fault, suffer two months imprisonment, and forfeit the value of the corn; for the second, suffer six months imprisonment, and forfeit double the value; and for the third, be set in the pillory, suffer imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeit all his goods and chatties. The ancient policy of most other parts of Europe was no better than that of England.

Our ancestors seem to have imagined that the people would buy their corn cheaper of the farmer, than of the corn merchant, who, they were afraid, would require, over and above the price which he paid to the farmer, an exorbitant profit to himself.

They endeavoured, therefore, to annihilate his trade altogether. They even endeavoured to hinder as much as poſſible any middle man of any kind from coming in between the grower and the conſumer; and this was the meaning of the many reſtraints which they impoſed upon the trade of thoſe whom they called kidders or carriers of corn, a trade which nobody was allowed to exerciſe without a licence aſcertaining his qualifications as a man of probity and fair dealing. The authority of three juſtices of the peace was, by the ſtatute of Edward VI. neceſſary, in order to grant this licence. But even this reſtraint was afterwards thought inſufficient, and by a ſtatute of Elizabeth, the privilege of granting it was confined to the quarter ſeſſions.

THE ancient policy of Europe endeavoured in this manner to regulate agriculture, the great trade of the country, by maxims quite different from thoſe which it eſtabliſhed with regard to manufactures, the great trade of the towns. By leaving the farmer no other cuſtomers but either the conſumers or their immediate factors, the kidders and carriers of corn, it endeavoured to force him to exerciſe the trade, not only of a farmer, but of a corn merchant or corn retailer. On the contrary, it in many caſes prohibited the manufacturer from exerciſing the trade of a ſhopkeeper, or from ſelling his own goods by retail. It meant by the one law to promote the general intereſt of the country, or to render corn cheap, without, perhaps, its being well underſtood how this was to be done. By the other it meant to promote that of a particular order of men, the ſhopkeepers, who would be ſo much underſold by the manufacturer, it was ſuppoſed, that their trade would be ruined if he was allowed to retail at all.

THE manufacturer, however, though he had been allowed to keep a ſhop and to ſell his own goods by retail,

retail, could not have underſold the common ſhop-keeper. Whatever part of his capital he might have placed in his ſhop, he muſt have withdrawn it from his manufacture. In order to carry on his buſineſs on a level with that of other people, as he muſt have had the profit of a manufacturer on the one part, ſo he muſt have had that of a ſhopkeeper on the other. Let us ſuppoſe, for example, that in the particular town where he lived, ten per cent. was the ordinary profit both of manufacturing and ſhopkeeping ſtock; he muſt in this caſe have charged upon every piece of his own goods which he ſold in his ſhop, a profit of twenty per cent. When he carried them from his work-houſe to his ſhop, he muſt have valued them at the price for which he could have ſold them to a dealer or ſhopkeeper, who would have bought them by wholeſale. If he valued them lower, he loſt a part of the profit of his manufacturing capital. When again he ſold them from his ſhop, unleſs he got the ſame price at which a ſhopkeeper would have ſold them, he loſt a part of the profit of his ſhopkeeping capital. Tho' he might appear, therefore, to make a double profit upon the ſame piece of goods, yet as theſe goods made ſucceſſively a part of two diſtinct capitals, he made but a ſingle profit upon the whole capital employed about them; and if he made leſs than this profit, he was a loſer, or did not employ his whole capital with the ſame advantage as the greater part of his neighbours.

WHAT the manufacturer was prohibited to do, the farmer was in ſome meaſure enjoined to do; to divide his capital between two different employments; to keep one part of it in his granaries and ſtack yard, for ſupplying the occaſional demands of the market; and to employ the other in the cultivation of his land. But as he could not afford to employ the latter for leſs than the ordinary profits of farming ſtock, ſo he could

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as little afford to employ the former for leſs than the ordinary profits of mercantile ſtock. Whether the ſtock which really carried on the buſineſs of the corn merchant belonged to the perſon who was called a farmer, or to the perſon who was called a corn merchant, an equal profit was in both caſes requiſite, in order to indemnify its owner for employing it in this manner; in order to put his buſineſs upon a level with other trades, and in order to hinder him from having an intereſt to change it as ſoon as poſſible for ſome other. The farmer, therefore, who was thus forced to exerciſe the trade of a corn merchant, could not afford to ſell his corn cheaper than any other corn merchant would have been obliged to do in the caſe of a free competition.

THE dealer who can employ his whole ſtock in one ſingle branch of buſineſs, has an advantage of the ſame kind with the workman who can employ his whole labour in one ſingle operation. As the latter acquires a dexterity which enables him, with the ſame two hands, to perform a much greater quantity of work; ſo the former acquires ſo eaſy and ready a method of tranſacting his buſineſs, of buying and diſpoſing of his goods, that with the ſame capital he can tranſact a much greater quantity of buſineſs. As the one can commonly afford his work a good deal cheaper, ſo the other can commonly afford his goods ſomewhat cheaper than if his ſtock and attention were both employed about a greater variety of objects. The greater part of manufacturers could not afford to retail their own goods ſo cheap as a vigilant and active ſhopkeeper, whoſe ſole buſineſs it was to buy them by wholeſale, and to retail them again. The greater part of farmers could ſtill leſs afford to retail their own corn, to ſupply the inhabitants of a town, at perhaps four or five miles diſtance from the greater part of them, ſo cheap as a vigilant and active

tive corn merchant, whose sole business it was to purchase corn by wholesale, to collect it into a great magazine, and to retail it again.

The law which prohibited the manufacturer from exercising the trade of a shopkeeper, endeavoured to force this division in the employment of stock to go on faster than it might otherwise have done. The law which obliged the farmer to exercise the trade of a corn merchant, endeavoured to hinder it from going on so fast. Both laws were evident violations of natural liberty, and therefore unjust; and they were both too as impolitic as they were unjust. It is the interest of every society, that things of this kind should never either be forced or obstructed. The man who employs either his labour or his stock in a greater variety of ways than his situation renders necessary, can never hurt his neighbour by underselling him. He may hurt himself, and he generally does so. Jack of all trades will never be rich, says the proverb. But the law ought always to trust people with the care of their own interest, as in their local situations they must generally be able to judge better of it than the legislator can do. The law, however, which obliged the farmer to exercise the trade of a corn merchant, was by far the most pernicious of the two.

It obstructed not only that division in the employment of stock which is so advantageous to every society, but it obstructed likewise the improvement and cultivation of the land. By obliging the farmer to carry on two trades instead of one, it forced him to divide his capital into two parts, of which one only could be employed in cultivation. But if he had been at liberty to sell his whole crop to a corn merchant as fast as he could thresh it out, his whole capital might have returned immediately to the land, and have been employed in buying more cattle, and hiring more servants, in order to improve and cultivate

it better. But by being obliged to sell his corn by retail, he was obliged to keep a great part of his capital in his granaries and stack yard through the year, and could not, therefore, cultivate so well as with the same capital he might otherwise have done. This law, therefore, necessarily obstructed the improvement of the land, and, instead of tending to render corn cheaper, must have tended to render it scarcer, and therefore dearer, than it would otherwise have been.

AFTER the business of the farmer, that of the corn merchant is in reality the trade which, if properly protected and encouraged, would contribute the most to the raising of corn. It would support the trade of the farmer, in the same manner as the trade of the wholesale dealer supports that of the manufacturer.

THE wholesale dealer, by affording a ready market to the manufacturer, by taking his goods off his hand as fast as he can make them, and by sometimes even advancing their price to him before he has made them, enables him to keep his whole capital, and sometimes even more than his whole capital, constantly employed in manufacturing, and consequently to manufacture a much greater quantity of goods than if he was obliged to dispose of them himself to the immediate consumers, or even to the retailers. As the capital of the wholesale merchant too is generally sufficient to replace that of many manufacturers, this intercourse between him and them interests the owner of a large capital to support the owners of a great number of small ones, and to assist them in those losses and misfortunes which might otherwise prove ruinous to them.

AN intercourse of the same kind universally established between the farmers and the corn merchants, would be attended with effects equally beneficial to

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the farmers. They would be enabled to keep their whole capitals, and even more than their whole capitals, conſtantly employed in cultivation. In caſe of any of thoſe accidents, to which no trade is more liable than theirs, they would find in their ordinary cuſtomer, the wealthy corn merchant, a perſon who had both an intereſt to ſupport them, and the ability to do it, and they would not, as at preſent, be entirely dependent upon the forbearance of their landlord, or the mercy of his ſteward. Were it poſſible, as perhaps it is not, to eſtabliſh this intercourſe univerſally, and all at once, were it poſſible to turn all at once the whole farming ſtock of the kingdom to its proper buſineſs, the cultivation of land, withdrawing it from every other employment into which any part of it may be at preſent diverted, and were it poſſible, in order to ſupport and aſſiſt upon occaſion the operations of this great ſtock, to provide all at once another ſtock almoſt equally great, it is not perhaps very eaſy to imagine how great, how extenſive, and how ſudden would be the improvement which this change of circumſtances would alone produce upon the whole face of the country.

THE ſtatute of Edward VI., therefore, by prohibiting as much as poſſible any middle man from coming in between the grower and the conſumer, endeavoured to annihilate a trade, of which the free exerciſe is not only the beſt palliative of the inconveniencies of a dearth, but the beſt preventative of that calamity: after the trade of the farmer, no trade contributing ſo much to the growing of corn as that of the corn merchant.

THE rigour of this law was afterwards ſoftened by ſeveral ſubſequent ſtatutes, which ſucceſſively permitted the engroſſing of corn when the price of wheat ſhould not exceed twenty, twenty-four, thirty-two, and forty ſhillings the quarter. At laſt, by the

the 15th of Charles II. c. 7. the engroſſing or buying of corn in order to ſell it again, as long as the price of wheat did not exceed forty-eight ſhillings the quarter, and that of other grain in proportion, was declared lawful to all perſons not being foreſtallers, that is, not ſelling again in the ſame market within three months. All the freedom which the trade of the inland corn dealer has ever yet enjoyed, was beſtowed upon it by this ſtatute. The ſtatute of the twelfth of the preſent king, which repeals almoſt all the other ancient laws againſt engroſſers and foreſtallers, does not repeal the reſtrictions of this particular ſtatute, which therefore ſtill continue in force.

THIS ſtatute, however, authoriſes in ſome meaſure two very abſurd popular prejudices.

FIRST, it ſuppoſes that when the price of wheat has riſen ſo high as forty-eight ſhillings the quarter, and that of other grain in proportion, corn is likely to be ſo engroſſed as to hurt the people. But from what has been already ſaid, it ſeems evident enough that corn can at no price be ſo engroſſed by the inland dealers as to hurt the people: and forty-eight ſhillings the quarter beſides, though it may be conſidered as a very high price, yet in years of ſcarcity it is a price which frequently takes place immediately after harveſt, when ſcarce any part of the new crop can be ſold off, and when it is impoſſible even for ignorance to ſuppoſe that any part of it can be ſo engroſſed as to hurt the people.

SECONDLY, it ſuppoſes that there is a certain price at which corn is likely to be foreſtalled, that is, bought up in order to be ſold again ſoon after in the ſame market, ſo as to hurt the people. But if a merchant ever buys up corn, either going to a particular market or in a particular market, in order to ſell it again ſoon after in the ſame market, it muſt be

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becauſe he judges that the market cannot be ſo liberally ſupplied through the whole ſeaſon as upon that particular occaſion, and that the price, therefore, muſt ſoon riſe. If he judges wrong in this, and if the price does not riſe, he not only loſes the whole profit of the ſtock which he employs in this manner, but a part of the ſtock itſelf, by the expence and loſs which neceſſarily attend the ſtoring and keeping of corn. He hurts himſelf, therefore, much more eſſentially than he can hurt even the particular people whom he may hinder from ſupplying themſelves upon that particular market day, becauſe they may afterwards ſupply themſelves juſt as cheap upon any other market day. If he judges right, inſtead of hurting the great body of the people, he renders them a moſt important ſervice. By making them feel the inconveniencies of a dearth ſomewhat earlier than they otherwiſe might do, he prevents their feeling them afterwards ſo ſeverely as they certainly would do, if the cheapneſs of price encouraged them to conſume faſter than ſuited the real ſcarcity of the ſeaſon. When the ſcarcity is real, the beſt thing that can be done for the people is to divide the inconveniencies of it as equally as poſſible through all the different months, and weeks, and days of the year. The intereſt of the corn merchant makes him ſtudy to do this as exactly as he can: and as no other perſon can have either the ſame intereſt, or the ſame knowledge, or the ſame abilities to do it ſo exactly as he, this moſt important operation of commerce ought to be truſted entirely to him; or, in other words, the corn trade, ſo far at leaſt as concerns the ſupply of the home market, ought to be left perfectly free.

THE popular fear of engroſſing and foreſtalling may be compared to the popular terrors and ſuſpicions of witchcraft. The unfortunate wretches accuſ-

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ed of this latter crime were not more innocent of the misfortunes imputed to them, than thoſe who have been accuſed of the former. The law which put an end to all proſecutions againſt witchcraft, which put it out of any man's power to gratify his own malice by accuſing his neighbour of that imaginary crime, ſeems effectually to have put an end to thoſe fears and ſuſpicions, by taking away the great cauſe which encouraged and ſupported them. The law which ſhould reſtore entire freedom to the inland trade of corn, would probably prove as effectual to put an end to the popular fears of engroſſing and foreſtalling.

THE 15th of Charles II. c. 7. however, with all its imperfections, has perhaps contributed more both to the plentiful ſupply of the home market, and to the increaſe of tillage, than any other law in the ſtatute book. It is from this law that the inland corn trade has derived all the liberty and protection which it has ever yet enjoyed; and both the ſupply of the home market, and the intereſt of tillage, are much more effectually promoted by the inland, than either by the importation or exportation trade.

THE proportion of the average quantity of all ſorts of grain imported into Great Britain to that of all ſorts of grain conſumed, it has been computed by the author of the tracts upon the corn trade, does not exceed that of one to five hundred and ſeventy. For ſupplying the home market, therefore, the importance of the inland trade muſt be to the importation trade as five hundred and ſeventy to one.

THE average quantity of all ſorts of grain exported from Great Britain does not, according to the ſame author, exceed the one-and-thirtieth part of the annual produce. For the encouragement of tillage, therefore, by providing a market for the home produce, the importance of the inland trade muſt be to that of the exportation trade as thirty to one.

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I HAVE no great faith in political arithmetic, and I mean not to warrant the exactneſs of either of theſe computations. I mention them only in order to ſhow of how much leſs conſequence, in the opinion of the moſt judicious and experienced perſons, the foreign trade of corn is than the home trade. The great cheapneſs of corn in the years immediately preceding the eſtabliſhment of the bounty, may, perhaps, with reaſon, be aſcribed in ſome meaſure to the operation of this ſtatute of Charles II., which had been enacted about five-and-twenty years before, and which had therefore full time to produce its effect.

A VERY few words will ſufficiently explain all that I have to ſay concerning the other three branches of the corn trade.

II. THE trade of the merchant importer of foreign corn for home conſumption, evidently contributes to the immediate ſupply of the home market, and muſt ſo far be immediately beneficial to the great body of the people. It tends, indeed, to lower ſomewhat the average money price of corn, but not to diminiſh its real value, or the quantity of labour which it is capable of maintaining. If importation was at all times free, our farmers and country gentlemen would, probably, one year with another, get leſs money for their corn than they do at preſent, when importation is at moſt times in effect prohibited; but the money which they got would be of more value, would buy more goods of all other kinds, and would employ more labour. Their real wealth, their real revenue, therefore would be the ſame as at preſent, though it might be expreſſed by a ſmaller quantity of ſilver; and they would neither be diſabled nor diſcouraged from cultivating corn as much as they do at preſent. On the contrary, as the riſe in the real value of ſilver, in conſequence of lowering the money price of corn, lowers ſomewhat the money price of all other

other commodities, it gives the induſtry of the country, where it takes place, ſome advantage in all foreign markets, and thereby tends to encourage and increaſe that induſtry. But the extent of the home market for corn muſt be in proportion to the general induſtry of the country where it grows, or to the number of thoſe who produce ſomething elſe, and therefore have ſomething elſe, or what comes to the ſame thing, the price of ſomething elſe, to give in exchange for corn. But in every country the home market, as it is the neareſt and moſt convenient, ſo is it likewiſe the greateſt and moſt important market for corn. That riſe in the real value of ſilver, therefore, which is the effect of lowering the average money price of corn, tends to enlarge the greateſt and moſt important market for corn, and thereby to encourage, inſtead of diſcouraging, its growth.

BY the 22d of Charles II. c. 13. the importation of wheat, whenever the price in the home market did not exceed fifty-three ſhillings and fourpence the quarter was ſubjected to a duty of ſixteen ſhillings the quarter; and to a duty of eight ſhillings whenever the price did not exceed four pounds. The former of theſe two prices has, for more than a century paſt, taken place only in times of very great ſcarcity; and the latter has, ſo far as I know, not taken place at all. Yet, till wheat had riſen above this latter price, it was by this ſtatute ſubjected to a very high duty; and, till it had riſen above the former, to a duty which amounted to a prohibition. The importation of other ſorts of grain was reſtrained at rates, and by duties, in proportion to the value of the grain, almoſt equally high.* Subſequent laws ſtill further increaſed thoſe duties. THE

* Before the 13th of the preſent king the following were the duties payable upon the importation of the different ſorts of grain:

Grain.

THE diſtreſs which, in years of ſcarcity, the ſtrict execution of thoſe laws might have brought upon the people, would probably have been very great. But, upon ſuch occaſions, its execution was generally ſuſpended by temporary ſtatutes, which permitted, for a limited time, the importation of foreign corn. The neceſſity of theſe temporary ſtatutes ſufficiently demonſtrates the impropriety of this general one.

THESE reſtraints upon importation, though prior to the eſtabliſhment of the bounty, were dictated by the ſame ſpirit, by the ſame principles, which afterwards enacted that regulation. How hurtful ſoever in themſelves, theſe or ſome other reſtraints upon importation became neceſſary in conſequence of that regulation. If, when wheat was either below forty-eight ſhillings the quarter, or not much above it, foreign corn could have been imported either duty free, or upon paying only a ſmall duty, it might have been exported again, with the benefit of the bounty to the great loſs of the public revenue and to the entire perverſion of the inſtitution, of which the object was to extend the market for the home growth, not that for the growth of foreign countries.

III. THE trade of the merchant exporter of corn for foreign conſumption, certainly does not contri-

 bute

Grain.	*Duties.*	*Duties.*	*Duties.*
Beans to 28s. per qr.	19s. 10d. after till	40s. - 16s. 8d. then	12d.
Barley to 28s.	19s. 10d.	32s. - 16s.	12d.
Malt is prohibited by the annual Malt-tax Bill.			
Oats to 16s.	5s. 10d. after		9⅓d.
Peaſe to 40s.	16s. 0d. after		9⅓d.
Rye to 36s.	19s. 10d. till	40s. - 16s. 8d. then	12d.
Wheat to 44s.	21s. 9d. till	53s. 4d. 17s. then	8s.
till 4l. and after that about 1s. 4d.			
Buck wheat to 32s. per qr. to pay 16s.			

Theſe different duties were impoſed, partly by the 22d of Charles II. in place of the Old Subſidy, partly by the New Subſidy, by the One-third and Two-thirds Subſidy, and by the Subſidy 1747.

bute directly to the plentiful supply of the home market. It does so, however, indirectly. From whatever source this supply may be usually drawn, whether from home growth or from foreign importation, unless more corn is either usually grown, or usually imported into the country, than what is usually consumed in it, the supply of the home market can never be very plentiful. But, unless the surplus can, in all ordinary cases, be exported, the growers will be careful never to grow more, and the importers never to import more, than what the bare consumption of the home market requires. That market will very seldom be overstocked; but it will generally be understocked, the people, whose business it is to supply it, being generally afraid lest their goods should be left upon their hands. The prohibition of exportation limits the improvement and cultivation of the country to what the supply of its own inhabitants requires. The freedom of exportation enables it to extend cultivation for the supply of foreign nations.

By the 12th of Charles II. c. 4, the exportation of corn was permitted whenever the price of wheat did not exceed forty shillings the quarter, and that of other grain in proportion. By the 15th of the same prince, this liberty was extended till the price of wheat exceeded forty-eight shillings the quarter; and by the 22d, to all higher prices. A poundage, indeed, was to be paid to the king upon such exportation. But all grain was rated so low in the book of rates, that this poundage amounted only upon wheat to a shilling, upon oats to fourpence, and upon all other grain to sixpence the quarter. By the 1st of William and Mary, the act which established the bounty, this small duty was virtually taken off whenever the price of wheat did not exceed forty-eight shillings the quarter; and by the 11th and 12th of William

William III. c. 20. it was expreſsly taken off at all higher prices.

THE trade of the merchant exporter was, in this manner, not only encouraged by a bounty, but rendered much more free than that of the inland dealer. By the laſt of theſe ſtatutes, corn could be engroſſed at any price for exportation; but it could not be engroſſed for inland ſale, except when the price did not exceed forty-eight ſhillings the quarter. The intereſt of the inland dealer, however, it has already been ſhown, can never be oppoſite to that of the great body of the people. That of the merchant exporter may, and in fact ſometimes is. If, while his own country labours under a dearth, a neighbouring country ſhould be afflicted with a famine, it might be his intereſt to carry corn to the latter country in ſuch quantities as might very much aggravate the calamities of the dearth. The plentiful ſupply of the home market was not the direct object of thoſe ſtatutes; but, under the pretence of encouraging agriculture, to raiſe the money price of corn as high as poſſible, and thereby to occaſion, as much as poſſible, a conſtant dearth in the home market. By the diſcouragement of importation, the ſupply of that market, even in times of great ſcarcity, was confined to the home growth; and by the encouragement of exportation, when the price was ſo high as forty-eight ſhillings the quarter, that market was not, even in times of conſiderable ſcarcity, allowed to enjoy the whole of that growth. The temporary laws, prohibiting for a limited time the exportation of corn, and taking off for a limited time the duties upon its importation, expedients to which Great Britain has been obliged ſo frequently to have recourſe, ſufficiently demonſtrate the impropriety of her general ſyſtem. Had that ſyſtem been good, ſhe would not ſo frequently have been reduced to the neceſſity of departing from it.

WERE

WERE all nations to follow the liberal ſyſtem of free exportation and free importation, the different ſtates into which a great continent was divided would ſo far reſemble the different provinces of a great empire. As among the different provinces of a great empire the freedom of the inland trade appears, both from reaſon and experience, not only the beſt palliative of a dearth, but the moſt effectual preventative of a famine; ſo would the freedom of the exportation and importation trade be among the different ſtates into which a great continent was divided. The larger the continent, the eaſier the communication through all the different parts of it, both by land and by water, the leſs would any one particular part of it ever be expoſed to either of thoſe calamities, the ſcarcity of any one country being more likely to be relieved by the plenty of ſome other. But very few countries have entirely adopted this liberal ſyſtem. The freedom of the corn trade is almoſt every where more or leſs reſtrained, and, in many countries, is confined by ſuch abſurd regulations as frequently aggravate the unavoidable misfortune of a dearth, into the dreadful calamity of a famine. The demand of ſuch countries for corn may frequently become ſo great and ſo urgent, that a ſmall ſtate in their neighbourhood, which happened at the ſame time to be labouring under ſome degree of dearth, could not venture to ſupply them without expoſing itſelf to the like dreadful calamity. The very bad policy of one country may thus render it in ſome meaſure dangerous and imprudent to eſtabliſh what would otherwiſe be the beſt policy in another. The unlimited freedom of exportation, however, would be much leſs dangerous in great ſtates, in which the growth being much greater, the ſupply could ſeldom be much affected by any quantity of corn that was likely to be exported. In a Swiſs canton, or in ſome of the

little

little ſtates of Italy, it may, perhaps, ſometimes be neceſſary to reſtrain the exportation of corn. In ſuch great countries as France or England it ſcarce ever can. To hinder, beſides, the farmer from ſending his goods at all times to the beſt market, is evidently to ſacrifice the ordinary laws of juſtice to an idea of public utility, to a ſort of reaſons of ſtate; an act of legiſlative authority which ought to be exerciſed only, which can be pardoned only in caſes of the moſt urgent neceſſity. The price at which the exportation of corn is prohibited, if it is ever to be prohibited, ought always to be a very high price.

THE laws concerning corn may every where be compared to the laws concerning religion. The people feel themſelves ſo much intereſted in what relates either to their ſubſiſtence in this life, or to their happineſs in a life to come, that government muſt yield to their prejudices, and, in order to preſerve the public tranquillity, eſtabliſh that ſyſtem which they approve of. It is upon this account, perhaps, that we ſo ſeldom find a reaſonable ſyſtem eſtabliſhed with regard to either of thoſe two capital objects.

IV. THE trade of the merchant carrier, or of the importer of foreign corn in order to export it again, contributes to the plentiful ſupply of the home market. It is not indeed the direct purpoſe of his trade to ſell his corn there. But he will generally be willing to do ſo, and even for a good deal leſs money than he might expect in a foreign market; becauſe he ſaves in this manner the expence of loading and unloading, of freight and inſurance. The inhabitants of the country which, by means of the carrying trade, becomes the magazine and ſtorehouſe for the ſupply of other countries, can very ſeldom be in want themſelves. Though the carrying trade might thus contribute to reduce the average money price of corn in the home market, it would not thereby low-

er its real value. It would only raiſe ſomewhat the real value of ſilver.

THE carrying trade was in effect prohibited in Great Britain, upon all ordinary occaſions, by the high duties upon the importation of foreign corn, of the greater part of which there was no drawback; and upon extraordinary occaſions, when a ſcarcity made it neceſſary to ſuſpend thoſe duties by temporary ſtatutes, exportation was always prohibited. By this ſyſtem of laws, therefore, the carrying trade was in effect prohibited upon all occaſions.

THAT ſyſtem of laws, therefore, which is connected with the eſtabliſhment of the bounty, ſeems to deſerve no part of the praiſe which has been beſtowed upon it. The improvement and proſperity of Great Britain, which has been ſo often aſcribed to thoſe laws, may very eaſily be accounted for by other cauſes. That ſecurity which the laws in Great Britain give to every man that he ſhall enjoy the fruits of his own labour, is alone ſufficient to make any country flouriſh, notwithſtanding theſe and twenty other abſurd regulations of commerce; and this ſecurity was perfected by the revolution, much about the ſame time that the bounty was eſtabliſhed. The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition, when ſuffered to exert itſelf with freedom and ſecurity, is ſo powerful a principle, that it is alone, and without any aſſiſtance, not only capable of carrying on the ſociety to wealth and proſperity, but of ſurmounting a hundred impertinent obſtructions with which the folly of human laws too often incumbers its operations; though the effect of theſe obſtructions is always more or leſs either to encroach upon its freedom, or to diminiſh its ſecurity. In Great Britain induſtry is perfectly ſecure; and tho' it is far from being perfectly free, it is as free or freer than in any other part of Europe.

THOUGH

THOUGH the period of the greateſt proſperity and improvement of Great Britain, has been poſterior to that ſyſtem of laws which is connected with the bounty, we muſt not upon that account impute it to thoſe laws. It has been poſterior likewiſe to the national debt. But the national debt has moſt aſſuredly not been the cauſe of it.

THOUGH the ſyſtem of laws which is connected with the bounty, has exactly the ſame tendency with the police of Spain and Portugal; to lower ſomewhat the value of the precious metals in the country where it takes place; yet Great Britain is certainly one of the richeſt countries in Europe, while Spain and Portugal are perhaps among the moſt beggarly. This difference of ſituation, however, may eaſily be accounted for from two different cauſes. Firſt, the tax in Spain, the prohibition in Portugal of exporting gold and ſilver, and the vigilant police which watches over the execution of thoſe laws, muſt, in two very poor countries, which between them import annually upwards of ſix millions ſterling, operate, not only more directly, but much more forcibly in reducing the value of thoſe metals there, than the corn laws can do in Great Britain. And, ſecondly, this bad policy is not in thoſe countries counterbalanced by the general liberty and ſecurity of the people. Induſtry is there neither free nor ſecure, and the civil and eccleſiaſtical governments of both Spain and Portugal, are ſuch as would alone be ſufficient to perpetuate their preſent ſtate of poverty, even though their regulations of commerce were as wiſe as the greater part of them are abſurd and fooliſh.

THE 13th of the preſent king, c. 43. ſeems to have eſtabliſhed a new ſyſtem with regard to the corn laws, in many reſpects better than the ancient one,

one, but in one or two reſpects perhaps not quite ſo good.

By this ſtatute the high duties upon importation for home conſumption are taken off ſo ſoon as the price of middling wheat riſes to forty-eight ſhillings the quarter; that of middling rye, peaſe or beans, to thirty-two ſhillings; that of barley to twenty-four ſhillings; and that of oats to ſixteen ſhillings: and inſtead of them a ſmall duty is impoſed of only ſixpence upon the quarter of wheat, and upon that of other grain in proportion. With regard to all theſe different ſorts of grain, but particularly with regard to wheat, the home market is thus opened to foreign ſupplies at prices conſiderably lower than before.

By the ſame ſtatute the old bounty of five ſhillings upon the exportation of wheat ceaſes ſo ſoon as the price riſes to forty-four ſhillings the quarter, inſtead of forty-eight, the price at which it ceaſed before; that of two ſhillings and ſixpence upon the exportation of barley ceaſes ſo ſoon as the price riſes to twenty-two ſhillings, inſtead of twenty-four, the price at which it ceaſed before; that of two ſhillings and ſixpence upon the exportation of oatmeal ceaſes ſo ſoon as the price riſes to fourteen ſhillings, inſtead of fifteen, the price at which it ceaſed before. The bounty upon rye is reduced from three ſhillings and ſixpence to three ſhillings, and it ceaſes ſo ſoon as the price riſes to twenty-eight ſhillings, inſtead of thirty-two, the price at which it ceaſed before. If bounties are as improper as I have endeavoured to prove them to be, the ſooner they ceaſe, and the lower they are, ſo much the better.

The ſame ſtatute permits, at the loweſt prices, the importation of corn, in order to be exported again, duty free, provided it is in the mean time lodged in a warehouſe under the joint locks of the king and the importer. This liberty, indeed, extends

tends to no more than twenty-five of the different ports of Great Britain. They are, however, the principal ones, and there may not, perhaps, be warehouſes proper for this purpoſe in the greater part of the others.

So far this law ſeems evidently an improvement upon the ancient ſyſtem.

But by the ſame law a bounty of two ſhillings the quarter is given for the exportation of oats whenever the price does not exceed fourteen ſhillings. No bounty had ever been given before for the exportation of this grain, no more than for that of peaſe or beans.

By the ſame law too, the exportation of wheat is prohibited ſo ſoon as the price riſes to forty-four ſhillings the quarter; that of rye ſo ſoon as it riſes to twenty-eight ſhillings; that of barley ſo ſoon as it riſes to twenty-two ſhillings; and that of oats ſo ſoon as they riſe to fourteen ſhillings. Thoſe ſeveral prices ſeem all of them a good deal too low, and there ſeems to be an impropriety, beſides, in prohibiting exportation altogether at thoſe preciſe prices at which that bounty, which was given in order to force it, is withdrawn. The bounty ought certainly either to have been withdrawn at a much lower price, or exportation ought to have been allowed at a much higher.

So far, therefore, this law ſeems to be inferior to the ancient ſyſtem. With all its imperfections, however, we may perhaps ſay of it what was ſaid of the laws of Solon, that, though not the beſt in itſelf, it is the beſt which the intereſts, prejudices, and temper of the times would admit of. It may perhaps in due time prepare the way for a better.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Treaties of Commerce.

WHEN a nation binds itself by treaty either to permit the entry of certain goods from one foreign country which it prohibits from all others, or to exempt the goods of one country from duties to which it subjects those of all others, the country, or at least the merchants and manufacturers of the country, whose commerce is so favoured, must necessarily derive great advantage from the treaty. Those merchants and manufacturers enjoy a sort of monopoly in the country which is so indulgent to them. That country becomes a market both more extensive and more advantageous for their goods: more extensive, because the goods of other nations being either excluded or subjected to heavier duties, it takes off a greater quantity of theirs: more advantageous, because the merchants of the favoured country, enjoying a sort of monopoly there, will often sell their goods for a better price than if exposed to the free competition of all other nations.

SUCH treaties, however, though they may be advantageous to the merchants and manufacturers of the favoured, are necessarily disadvantageous to those of the favouring country. A monopoly is thus granted against them to a foreign nation; and they must frequently buy the foreign goods they have occasion for, dearer than if the free competition of other nations was admitted. That part of its own produce with which such a nation purchases foreign goods, must consequently be sold cheaper, because when two things are exchanged for one another, the cheapness of the one is a necessary consequence, or rather is the same

ſame thing with the dearneſs of the other. The exchangeable value of its annual produce, therefore, is likely to be diminiſhed by every ſuch treaty. This diminution, however, can ſcarce amount to any poſitive loſs, but only to a leſſening of the gain which it might otherwiſe make. Though it ſells its goods cheaper than it otherwiſe might do, it will not probably ſell them for leſs than they coſt; nor, as in the caſe of bounties, for a price which will not replace the capital employed in bringing them to market, together with the ordinary profits of ſtock. The trade could not go on long if it did. Even the favouring country, therefore, may ſtill gain by the trade, though leſs than if there was a free competition.

SOME treaties of commerce, however, have been ſuppoſed advantageous upon principles very different from theſe; and a commercial country has ſometimes granted a monopoly of this kind againſt itſelf to certain goods of a foreign nation, becauſe it expected that in the whole commerce between them, it would annually ſell more than it would buy, and that a balance in gold and ſilver would be annually returned to it. It is upon this principle that the treaty of commerce between England and Portugal, concluded in 1703, by Mr. Methuen, has been ſo much commended. The following is a literal tranſlation of that treaty, which conſiſts of three articles only.

ART. I.

HIS ſacred royal majeſty of Portugal promiſes, both in his own name, and that of his ſucceſſors, to admit, for ever hereafter, into Portugal, the woollen cloths, and the reſt of the woollen manufactures of the Britiſh, as was accuſtomed, till they were prohibited by the law; nevertheleſs upon this condition:

ART.

ART. II.

THAT is to say, that her sacred royal majesty of Great Britain shall, in her own name, and that of her successors, be obliged, for ever hereafter, to admit the wines of the growth of Portugal into Britain; so that at no time, whether there shall be peace or war between the kingdoms of Britain and France, any thing more shall be demanded for these wines by the name of custom or duty or by whatsoever other title, directly or indirectly, whether they shall be imported into Great Britain in pipes or hogsheads, or other casks, than what shall be demanded for the like quantity or measure of French wine, deducting or abating a third part of the custom or duty. But if at any time this deduction or abatement of customs, which is to be made as aforesaid, shall in any manner be attempted and prejudiced, it shall be just and lawful for his sacred royal majesty of Portugal, again to prohibit the woollen cloths, and the rest of the British woollen manufactures.

ART. III.

THE most excellent lords the plenipotentiaries promise and take upon themselves, that their above-named masters shall ratify this treaty; and within the space of two months the ratifications shall be exchanged.

BY this treaty the crown of Portugal becomes bound to admit the English woollens upon the same footing as before the prohibition; that is, not to raise the duties which had been paid before that time. But it does not become bound to admit them upon any better terms than those of any other nation, of France

or

or Holland for example. The crown of Great Britain, on the contrary, becomes bound to admit the wines of Portugal, upon paying only two-thirds of the duty, which is paid for thoſe of France, the wines moſt likely to come into competition with them. So far this treaty, therefore, is evidently advantageous to Portugal, and diſadvantageous to Great Britain.

It has been celebrated, however, as a maſter-piece of the commercial policy of England. Portugal receives annually from the Brazils a greater quantity of gold than can be employed in its domeſtic commerce, whether in the ſhape of coin or of plate. The ſurplus is too valuable to be allowed to lie idle and locked up in coffers, and as it can find no advantageous market at home, it muſt, notwithſtanding any prohibition, be ſent abroad, and exchanged for ſomething for which there is a more advantageous market at home. A large ſhare of it comes annually to England, in return either for Engliſh goods, or for thoſe of other European nations that receive their returns through England. Mr. Baretti was informed that the weekly packet-boat from Liſbon brings, one week with another, more than fifty thouſand pounds in gold to England. The ſum had probably been exaggerated. It would amount to more than two millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year, which is more than the Brazils are ſuppoſed to afford.

Our merchants were ſome years ago out of humour with the crown of Portugal. Some privileges which had been granted them, not by treaty, but by the free grace of that crown, at the ſolicitation, indeed, it is probable, and in return for much greater favours, defence and protection, from the crown of Great Britain, had been either infringed or revoked. The people, therefore, uſually moſt intereſted in celebrating the Portugal trade, were then rather diſpoſed to repreſent it as leſs advantageous than it had com-

monly been imagined. The far greater part, almoſt the whole, they pretended, of this annual importation of gold, was not on account of Great Britain, but of other European nations; the fruits and wines of Portugal annually imported into Great Britain nearly compenſating the value of the Britiſh goods ſent thither.

LET us ſuppoſe, however, that the whole was on on account of Great Britain, and that it amounted to a ſtill greater ſum than Mr. Baretti ſeems to imagine: this trade would not, upon that account, be more advantageous than any other in which, for the ſame value ſent out, we received an equal value of conſumable goods in return.

IT is but a very ſmall part of this importation which, it can be ſuppoſed, is employed as an annual addition either to the plate or to the coin of the kingdom. The reſt muſt all be ſent abroad, and exchanged for conſumable goods of ſome kind or other. But if thoſe conſumable goods were purchaſed directly with the produce of Engliſh induſtry, it would be more for the advantage of England, than firſt to purchaſe with that produce the gold of Portugal, and afterwards to purchaſe with that gold thoſe conſumable goods. A direct foreign trade of conſumption is always more advantageous than a round-about one; and to bring the ſame value of foreign goods to the home market, requires a much ſmaller capital in the one way than in the other. If a ſmaller ſhare of its induſtry, therefore, had been employed in producing goods fit for the Portugal market, and a greater in producing thoſe fit for the other markets, where thoſe conſumable goods for which there is a demand in Great Britain are to be had, it would have been more for the advantage of England. To procure both the gold, which it wants for its own uſe, and the conſumable goods, would, in this way, employ a much ſmaller

ſmaller capital than at preſent. There would be a ſpare capital, therefore, to be employed for other purpoſes, in exciting an additional quantity of induſtry, and in raiſing a greater annual produce.

THOUGH Britain were entirely excluded from the Portugal trade, it could find very little difficulty in procuring all the annual ſupplies of gold which it wants, either for the purpoſes of plate, or of coin, or of foreign trade. Gold, like every other commodity, is always ſomewhere or another to be got for its value, by thoſe who have that value to give for it. The annual ſurplus of gold in Portugal, beſides, would ſtill be ſent abroad, and, though not carried away by Great Britain, would be carried away by ſome other nation, which would be glad to ſell it again for its price, in the ſame manner as Great Britain does at preſent. In buying gold of Portugal, indeed, we buy it at the firſt hand; whereas, in buying it of any other nation, except Spain, we ſhould buy it at the ſecond, and might pay ſomewhat dearer. This difference, however, would ſurely be too inſignificant to deſerve the public attention.

ALMOST all our gold, it is ſaid, comes from Portugal. With other nations the balance of trade is either againſt us, or not much in our favour. But we ſhould remember, that the more gold we import from one country, the leſs we muſt neceſſarily import from all others. The effectual demand for gold, like that for every other commodity, is in every country limited to a certain quantity. If nine-tenths of this quantity are imported from one country, there remains a tenth only to be imported from all others. The more gold beſides that is annually imported from ſome particular countries, over and above what is requiſite for plate and for coin, the more muſt neceſſarily be exported to ſome others; and the more, that moſt inſignificant object of modern policy, the

balance

balance of trade, appears to be in our favour with some particular countries, the more it must necessarily appear to be against us with many others.

IT was upon this silly notion, however, that England could not subsist without the Portugal trade, that, towards the end of the late war, France and Spain, without pretending either offence or provocation, required the king of Portugal to exclude all British ships from his ports, and for the security of this exclusion, to receive into them French or Spanish garrisons. Had the king of Portugal submitted to those ignominious terms which his brother-in-law the king of Spain proposed to him, Britain would have been freed from a much greater inconveniency than the loss of the Portugal trade, the burden of supporting a very weak ally, so unprovided of every thing for his own defence, that the whole power of England, had it been directed to that single purpose, could scarce perhaps have defended him for another campaign. The loss of the Portugal trade would, no doubt, have occasioned a considerable embarrassment to the merchants at that time engaged in it, who might not, perhaps, have found out, for a year or two, any other equally advantageous method of employing their capitals; and in this would probably have consisted all the inconveniency which England could have suffered from this notable piece of commercial policy.

THE great annual importation of gold and silver is neither for the purpose of plate nor of coin, but of foreign trade. A round-about foreign trade of consumption can be carried on more advantageously by means of these metals than of almost any other goods. As they are the universal instruments of commerce, they are more readily received in return for all commodities than any other goods; and on account of their small bulk and great value, it costs less to transport them backward and forward from one

one place to another than almoſt any other ſort of merchandize, and they loſe leſs of their value by being ſo tranſported. Of all the commodities, therefore, which are bought in one foreign country, for no other purpoſe but to be ſold or exchanged again for ſome other goods in another, there are none ſo convenient as gold and ſilver. In facilitating all the different round-about foreign trades of conſumption which are carried on in Great Britain, conſiſts the principal advantage of the Portugal trade; and though it is not a capital advantage, it is, no doubt, a conſiderable one.

THAT any annual addition which, it can reaſonably be ſuppoſed, is made either to the plate or to the coin of the kingdom, could require but a very ſmall annual importation of gold and ſilver, ſeems evident enough; and though we had no direct trade with Portugal, this ſmall quantity could always, ſomewhere or another, be very eaſily got.

THOUGH the goldſmiths trade be very conſiderable in Great Britain, the far greater part of the new plate which they annually ſell, is made from other old plate melted down; ſo that the addition annually made to the whole plate of the kingdom cannot be very great, and could require but a very ſmall annual importation.

IT is the ſame caſe with the coin. Nobody imagines, I believe, that even the greater part of the annual coinage, amounting, for ten years together, before the late reformation of the gold coin, to upwards of eight hundred thouſand pounds a year in gold, was an annual addition to the money before current in the kingdom. In a country where the expence of the coinage is defrayed by the government, the value of the coin, even when it contains its full ſtandard weight of gold and ſilver, can never be much greater than that of an equal quantity of thoſe metals uncoined; becauſe it requires only

the trouble of going to the mint, and the delay perhaps of a few weeks, to procure for any quantity of uncoined gold and silver an equal quantity of those metals in coin. But, in every country, the greater part of the current coin is almost always more or less worn, or otherwise degenerated from its standard. In Great Britain it was, before the late reformation, a good deal so, the gold being more than two per cent. and the silver more than eight per cent. below its standard weight. But if forty-four guineas and a half, containing their full standard weight, a pound weight of gold, could purchase very little more than a pound weight of uncoined gold, forty-four guineas and a half wanting a part of their weight could not purchase a pound weight, and something was to be added in order to make up the deficiency. The current price of gold bullion at market, therefore, instead of being the same with the mint price, or 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* was then about 47*l.* 14*s.* and sometimes about forty-eight pounds. When the greater part of the coin, however, was in this degenerate condition, forty-four guineas and a half, fresh from the mint, would purchase no more goods in the market than any other ordinary guineas, because when they came into the coffers of the merchant, being confounded with other money, they could not afterwards be distinguished without more trouble than the difference was worth. Like other guineas they were worth no more than 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* If thrown into the melting pot, however, they produced, without any sensible loss, a pound weight of standard gold, which could be sold at any time for between 47*l.* 14*s.* and 48*l.* either in gold or silver, as fit for all the purposes of coin as that which had been melted down. There was an evident profit, therefore, in melting down new coined money, and it was done so instantaneously, that no precaution of govern-

government could prevent it. The operations of the mint were, upon this account, somewhat like the web of Penelope; the work that was done in the day was undone in the night. The mint was employed, not so much in making daily additions to the coin, as in replacing the very best part of it which was daily melted down.

WERE the private people, who carry their gold and silver to the mint, to pay themselves for the coinage, it would add to the value of those metals in the same manner as the fashion does to that of plate. Coined gold and silver would be more valuable than uncoined. The seignorage, if it was not exorbitant, would add to the bullion the whole value of the duty; because, the government having every where the exclusive privilege of coining, no coin can come to market cheaper than they think proper to afford it. If the duty was exorbitant indeed, that is, if it was very much above the real value of the labour and expence requisite for coinage, false coiners, both at home and abroad, might be encouraged, by the great difference between the value of bullion and that of coin, to pour in so great a quantity of counterfeit money as might reduce the value of the government money. In France, however, though the seignorage is eight per cent. no sensible inconveniency of this kind is found to arise from it. The dangers to which a false coiner is every where exposed, if he lives in the country of which he counterfeits the coin, and to which his agents or correspondents are exposed if he lives in a foreign country, are by far too great to be incurred for the sake of a profit of six or seven per cent.

THE seignorage in France raises the value of the coin higher than in proportion to the quantity of pure gold which it contains. Thus by the edict of

January

January 1726, the * mint price of fine gold of twenty-four carats was fixed at seven hundred and forty livres nine sous and one denier one-eleventh, the mark of eight Paris ounces. The gold coin of France, making an allowance for the remedy of the mint, contains twenty-one carats and three-fourths of fine gold, and two carats one-fourth of alloy. The mark of standard gold, therefore, is worth no more than about six hundred and seventy-one livres ten deniers. But in France this mark of standard gold is coined into thirty Louis-d'ors of twenty-four livres each, or into seven hundred and twenty livres. The coinage, therefore, increases the value of a mark of standard gold bullion, by the difference between six hundred and seventy-one livres ten deniers, and seven hundred and twenty livres; or by forty-eight livres nineteen sous and two deniers.

A SEIGNORAGE will, in many cases, take away altogether, and will, in all cases, diminish the profit of melting down the new coin. This profit always arises from the difference between the quantity of bullion which the common currency ought to contain, and that which it actually does contain. If this difference is less than the seignorage, there will be loss instead of profit. If it is equal to the seignorage, there will neither be profit nor loss. If it is greater than the seignorage, there will indeed be some profit, but less than if there was no seignorage. If, before the late reformation of the gold coin, for example, there had been a seignorage of five per cent. upon the coinage, there would have been a loss of three per cent. upon the melting down of the gold coin. If the seignorage had been two per cent. there would

* See Dictionaire des Monnoies, tom. ii. article Seigneurage, p. 489. par M. Abot de Bazinghen, Conseiller-Comissaire en la Cour des Monnoies à Paris.

would have been neither profit nor loſs. If the ſeignorage had been one per cent. there would have been a profit, but of one per cent. only inſtead of two per cent. Wherever money is received by tale, therefore, and not by weight, a ſeignorage is the moſt effectual preventative of the melting down of the coin, and, for the ſame reaſon, of its exportation. It is the beſt and heavieſt pieces that are commonly either melted down or exported; becauſe it is upon ſuch that the largeſt profits are made.

THE law for the encouragement of the coinage, by rendering it duty free, was firſt enacted, during the reign of Charles II. for a limited time; and afterwards continued, by different prolongations, till 1769, when it was rendered perpetual. The bank of England, in order to repleniſh their coffers with money, are frequently obliged to carry bullion to the mint; and it was more for their intereſt, they probably imagined, that the coinage ſhould be at the expence of the government, than at their own. It was, probably, out of complaiſance to this great company that the government agreed to render this law perpetual. Should the cuſtom of weighing gold, however, come to be diſuſed, as it is very likely to be on account of its inconveniency; ſhould the gold coin of England come to be received by tale, as it was before the late recoinage, this great company may, perhaps, find that they have upon this, as upon ſome other occaſions, miſtaken their own intereſt not a little.

BEFORE the late recoinage, when the gold currency of England was two per cent. below its ſtandard weight, as there was no ſeignorage, it was two per cent. below the value of that quantity of ſtandard gold bullion which it ought to have contained. When this great company, therefore, bought gold bullion in order to have it coined, they were obliged to pay for it

two

two per cent. more than it was worth after the coinage. But if there had been a ſeignorage of two per cent. upon the coinage, the common gold currency, though two per cent. below its ſtandard weight, would notwithſtanding have been equal in value to the quantity of ſtandard gold which it ought to have contained; the value of the faſhion compenſating in this caſe the diminution of the weight. They would indeed have had the ſeignorage to pay, which being two per cent. their loſs upon the whole tranſaction would have been two per cent. exactly the ſame, but no greater than it actually was.

IF the ſeignorage had been five per cent. and the gold currency only two per cent. below its ſtandard weight, the bank would in this caſe have gained three per cent. upon the price of the bullion; but as they would have had a ſeignorage of five per cent. to pay upon the coinage, their loſs upon the whole tranſaction would, in the ſame manner, have been exactly two per cent.

IF the ſeignorage had been only one per cent. and the gold currency two per cent. below its ſtandard weight, the bank would in this caſe have loſt only one per cent. upon the price of the bullion; but as they would likewiſe have had a ſeignorage of one per cent. to pay, their loſs upon the whole tranſaction would have been exactly two per cent. in the ſame manner as in all other caſes.

IF there was a reaſonable ſeignorage, while at the ſame time the coin contained its full ſtandard weight, as it has done very nearly ſince the late recoinage, whatever the bank might loſe by the ſeignorage, they would gain upon the price of the bullion; and whatever they might gain upon the price of the bullion, they would loſe by the ſeignorage. They would neither loſe nor gain, therefore, upon the whole tranſaction, and they would

would in this, as in all the foregoing cases, be exactly in the same situation as if there was no seignorage.

When the tax upon a commodity is so moderate as not to encourage smuggling, the merchant who deals in it, though he advances, does not properly pay the tax, as he gets it back in the price of the commodity. The tax is finally paid by the last purchaser or consumer. But money is a commodity with regard to which every man is a merchant. Nobody buys it but in order to sell it again; and with regard to it there is in ordinary cases no last purchaser or consumer. When the tax upon coinage, therefore, is so moderate as not to encourage false coining, though every body advances the tax, nobody finally pays it; because every body gets it back in the advanced value of the coin.

A moderate seignorage, therefore, would not in any case augment the expence of the bank, or of any other private persons who carry their bullion to the mint in order to be coined, and the want of a moderate seignorage does not in any case diminish it.—Whether there is or is not a seignorage, if the currency contains its full standard weight, the coinage costs nothing to any body, and if it is short of that weight, the coinage must always cost the difference between the quantity of bullion which ought to be contained in it, and that which actually is contained in it.

The government, therefore, when it defrays the expence of coinage, not only incurs some small expence, but loses some small revenue which it might get by a proper duty; and neither the bank nor any other private persons are in the smallest degree benefited by this useless piece of public generosity.

The directors of the bank, however, would probably be unwilling to agree to the imposition of a seignorage upon the authority of a speculation which promises them no gain, but only pretends to insure them

them from any loſs. In the preſent ſtate of the gold coin, and as long as it continues to be received by weight, they certainly would gain nothing by ſuch a change. But if the cuſtom of weighing the gold coin ſhould ever go into diſuſe, as it is very likely to do, and if the gold coin ſhould ever fall into the ſame ſtate of degradation in which it was before the late recoinage, the gain, or more properly the ſavings of the bank, in conſequence of the impoſition of a ſeignorage, would probably be very conſiderable. The bank of England is the only company which ſends any conſiderable quantity of bullion to the mint, and the burden of the annual coinage falls entirely, or almoſt entirely, upon it. If this annual coinage had nothing to do but to repair the unavoidable loſſes and neceſſary wear and tear of the coin, it could ſeldom exceed fifty thouſand or at moſt a hundred thouſand pounds. But when the coin is degraded below its ſtandard weight, the annual coinage muſt, beſides this, fill up the large vacuities which exportation and the melting pot are continually making in the current coin. It was upon this account that during the ten or twelve years immediately preceding the late reformation of the gold coin, the annual coinage amounted at an average to more than eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. But if there had been a ſeignorage of four or five per cent. upon the gold coin, it would probably, even in the ſtate in which things then were, have put an effectual ſtop to the buſineſs both of exportation and of the melting pot. The bank, inſtead of loſing every year about two and a half per cent. upon the bullion which was to be coined into more than eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, or incurring an annual loſs of more than twenty-one thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds, would not probably have incurred the tenth part of that loſs.

THE revenue allotted by parliament for defraying the

the expence of the coinage is but fourteen thousand pounds a year, and the real expence which it costs the government, or the fees of the officers of the mint, do not upon ordinary occasions, I am assured, exceed the half of that sum. The saving of so very small a sum, or even the gaining of another which could not well be much larger, are objects too inconsiderable, it may be thought, to deserve the serious attention of government. But the saving of eighteen or twenty thousand pounds a year in case of an event which is not improbable, which has frequently happened before, and which is very likely to happen again, is surely an object which well deserves the serious attention even of so great a company as the bank of England.

SOME of the foregoing reasonings and observations might perhaps have been more properly placed in those chapters of the first book which treat of the origin and use of money, and of the difference between the real and the nominal price of commodities. But as the law for the encouragement of coinage derives its origin from those vulgar prejudices which have been introduced by the mercantile system; I judged it more proper to reserve them for this chapter. Nothing could be more agreeable to the spirit of that system than a sort of bounty upon the production of money, the very thing which, it supposes, constitutes the wealth of every nation. It is one of its many admirable expedients for enriching the country.

CHAP. VII.

Of Colonies.

PART FIRST.

Of the Motives for eſtabliſhing new Colonies.

THE intereſt which occaſioned the firſt ſettlement of the different European colonies in America and the Weſt Indies, was not altogether ſo plain and diſtinct as that which directed the eſtabliſhment of thoſe of ancient Greece and Rome.

ALL the different ſtates of ancient Greece poſſeſſed, each of them, but a very ſmall territory, and when the people in any one of them multiplied beyond what that territory could eaſily maintain, a part of them were ſent in queſt of a new habitation in ſome remote and diſtant part of the world; the warlike neighbours who ſurrounded them on all ſides, rendering it difficult for any of them to enlarge very much its territory at home. The colonies of the Dorians reſorted chiefly to Italy and Sicily, which, in the times preceding the foundation of Rome, were inhabited by barbarous and uncivilized nations: thoſe of the Ionians and Eolians, the two other great tribes of the Greeks, to Aſia Minor and the iſlands of the Egean Sea, of which the inhabitants ſeem at that time to have been pretty much in the ſame ſtate as thoſe of Sicily and Italy. The mother city, though ſhe conſidered the colony as a child, at all times entitled to great favour and aſſiſtance, and owing in return much gratitude and reſpect, yet conſidered it as an emancipated child, over whom ſhe pretended to claim no direct authority or juriſdiction. The colo-

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ny settled its own form of government, enacted its own laws, elected its own magistrates, and made peace or war with its neighbours as an independent state, which had no occasion to wait for the approbation or consent of the mother city. Nothing can be more plain and distinct than the interest which directed every such establishment.

ROME, like most of the other ancient republics, was originally founded upon an Agrarian law, which divided the public territory in a certain proportion among the different citizens who composed the state. The course of human affairs, by marriage, by succession, and by alienation, necessarily deranged this original division, and frequently threw the lands, which had been allotted for the maintenance of many different families, into the possession of a single person. To remedy this disorder, for such it was supposed to be, a law was made, restricting the quantity of land which any citizen could possess to five hundred jugera, about three hundred and fifty English acres. This law, however, though we read of its having been executed upon one or two occasions, was either neglected or evaded, and the inequality of fortunes went on continually increasing. The greater part of the citizens had no land, and without it the manners and customs of those times rendered it difficult for a freeman to maintain his independency. In the present times, though a poor man has no land of his own, if he has a little stock, he may either farm the lands of another, or he may carry on some little retail trade; and if he has no stock, he may find employment either as a country labourer, or as an artificer. But, among the ancient Romans, the lands of the rich were all cultivated by slaves, who wrought under an overseer, who was likewise a slave; so that a poor freeman had little chance of being employed either as a farmer or as a labourer. All trades and manu-

manufactures too, even the retail trade, were carried on by the slaves of the rich for the benefit of their masters, whose wealth, authority, and protection made it difficult for a poor freeman to maintain the competition against them. The citizens, therefore, who had no land, had scarce any other means of subsistence but the bounties of the candidates at the annual elections. The tribunes, when they had a mind to animate the people against the rich and the great, put them in mind of the ancient division of lands, and represented that law which restricted this sort of private property as the fundamental law of the republic. The people became clamorous to get land, and the rich and the great, we may believe, were perfectly determined not to give them any part of theirs. To satisfy them in some measure, therefore, they frequently proposed to send out a new colony. But conquering Rome was, even upon such occasions, under no necessity of turning out her citizens to seek their fortunes, if one may say so, through the wide world, without knowing where they were to settle. She assigned them lands generally in the conquered provinces of Italy, where, being within the dominions of the republic, they could never form any independent state; but were at best but a sort of corporation, which, though it had the power of enacting bye-laws for its own government, was at all times subject to the correction, jurisdiction, and legislative authority of the mother city. The sending out a colony of this kind, not only gave some satisfaction to the people, but often established a sort of garrison too in a newly conquered province, of which the obedience might otherwise have been doubtful. A Roman colony, therefore, whether we consider the nature of the establishment itself, or the motives for making it, was altogether different from a Greek one. The words, accordingly, which in the original languages denote those

thoſe different eſtabliſhments, have very different meanings. The Latin word *(Colonia)* ſignifies ſimply a plantation. The Greek word (ἀποικία), on the contrary, ſignifies a ſeparation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the houſe. But, though the Roman colonies were in many reſpects different from the Greek ones, the intereſt which prompted to eſtabliſh them was equally plain and diſtinct. Both inſtitutions derived their origin either from irreſiſtble neceſſity, or from clear and evident utility.

THE eſtabliſhment of the European colonies in America and the Weſt Indies aroſe from no neceſſity: and though the utility which has reſulted from them has been very great, it is not altogether ſo clear and evident. It was not underſtood at their firſt eſtabliſhment, and was not the motive either of that eſtabliſhment or of the diſcoveries which gave occaſion to it, and the nature, extent, and limits of that utility are not, perhaps, well underſtood at this day.

THE Venetians, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, carried on a very advantageous commerce in ſpiceries, and other Eaſt India goods, which they diſtributed among the other nations of Europe. They purchaſed them chiefly in Egypt, at that time under the dominion of the Mammeluks, the enemies of the Turks, of whom the Venetians were the enemies; and this union of intereſt, aſſiſted by the money of Venice, formed ſuch a connection as gave the Venetians almoſt a monopoly of the trade.

THE great profits of the Venetians tempted the avidity of the Portugueſe. They had been endeavouring, during the courſe of the fifteenth century, to find out by ſea a way to the countries from which the Moors brought them ivory and gold duſt acroſs the Deſart. They diſcovered the Madeiras, the Canaries, the Azores, the Cape de Verd iſlands, the

coaſt of Guinea, that of Loango, Congo, Angola, and Benguela, and finally, the Cape of Good Hope. They had long wiſhed to ſhare in the profitable traffic of the Venetians, and this laſt diſcovery opened to them a probable proſpect of doing ſo. In 1497, Vaſco de Gama ſailed from the port of Liſbon with a fleet of four ſhips, and, after a navigation of eleven months, arrived upon the coaſt of Indoſtan, and thus completed a courſe of diſcoveries which had been purſued with great ſteadineſs, and with very little interruption, for near a century together.

SOME years before this, while the expectations of Europe were in ſuſpenſe about the projects of the Portugueſe, of which the ſucceſs appeared yet to be doubtful, a Genoeſe pilot formed the yet more daring project of ſailing to the Eaſt Indies by the Weſt. The ſituation of thoſe countries was at that time very imperfectly known in Europe. The few European travellers who had been there had magnified the diſtance; perhaps through ſimplicity and ignorance, what was really very great, appearing almoſt infinite to thoſe who could not meaſure it; or, perhaps, in order to increaſe ſomewhat more the marvellous of their own adventures in viſiting regions ſo immenſely remote from Europe. The longer the way was by the Eaſt, Columbus very juſtly concluded, the ſhorter it would be by the Weſt. He propoſed, therefore, to take that way, as both the ſhorteſt and the ſureſt, and he had the good fortune to convince Iſabella of Caſtile of the probability of his project. He ſailed from the port of Palos in Auguſt 1492, near five years before the expedition of Vaſco de Gama ſet out from Portugal, and, after a voyage of between two and three months, diſcovered firſt ſome of the ſmall Bahama or Lucayan iſlands, and afterwards the great iſland of St. Domingo.

BUT the countries which Columbus diſcovered, either

either in this or in any of his subsequent voyages, had no resemblance to those which he had gone in quest of. Instead of the wealth, cultivation, and populousness of China and Indostan, he found, in St. Domingo, and in all the other parts of the new world which he ever visited, nothing but a country quite covered with wood, uncultivated, and inhabited only by some tribes of naked and miserable savages. He was not very willing, however, to believe that they were not the same with some of the countries described by Marco Polo, the first European who had visited, or at least had left behind him, any description of China or the East Indies; and a very slight resemblance, such as that which he found between the name of Cibao, a mountain in St. Domingo, and that of Cipango, mentioned by Marco Polo, was frequently sufficient to make him return to this favourite prepossession, though contrary to the clearest evidence. In his letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, he called the countries which he had discovered, the Indies. He entertained no doubt but that they were the extremity of those which had been described by Marco Polo, and that they were not very distant from the Ganges, or from the countries which had been conquered by Alexander. Even when at last convinced that they were different, he still flattered himself that those rich countries were at no great distance, and, in a subsequent voyage, accordingly, went in quest of them along the coast of Terra Firma, and towards the isthmus of Darien.

In consequence of this mistake of Columbus, the name of the Indies has stuck to those unfortunate countries ever since; and when it was at last clearly discovered that the new were altogether different from the old Indies, the former were called the West, in contradistinction to the latter, which were called the East Indies.

IT was of importance to Columbus, however, that the countries which he had discovered, whatever they were, should be represented to the court of Spain as of very great consequence; and, in what constitutes the real riches of every country, the animal and vegetable productions of the soil, there was at that time nothing which could well justify such a representation of them.

THE Cori, something between a rat and rabbit, and supposed by Mr. Buffon to be the same with the Aperea of Brazil, was the largest viviparous quadruped in St. Domingo. This species seems never to have been very numerous, and the dogs and cats of the Spaniards are said to have long ago almost entirely extirpated it, as well as some other tribes of a still smaller size. These, however, together with a pretty large lizard, called the Ivana or Iguana, constituted the principal part of the animal food which the land afforded.

THE vegetable food of the inhabitants, though from their want of industry not very abundant, was not altogether so scanty. It consisted in Indian corn, yams, potatoes, bananes, &c. plants which were then altogether unknown in Europe, and which have never since been very much esteemed in it, or supposed to yield a sustenance equal to what is drawn from the common sorts of grain and pulse, which have been cultivated in this part of the world time out of mind.

THE cotton plant indeed afforded the material of a very important manufacture, and was at that time to Europeans undoubtedly the most valuable of all the vegetable productions of those islands. But tho' in the end of the fifteenth century the muslins and other cotton goods of the East Indies were much esteemed in every part of Europe, the cotton manufacture itself was not cultivated in any part of it.—

Even

Even this production, therefore, could not at that time appear in the eyes of Europeans to be of very great consequence.

FINDING nothing either in the animals or vegetables of the newly discovered countries, which could justify a very advantageous representation of them, Columbus turned his view towards their minerals; and in the richness of the productions of this third kingdom, he flattered himself, he had found a full compensation for the insignificancy of those of the other two. The little bits of gold with which the inhabitants ornamented their dress, and which, he was informed, they frequently found in the rivulets and torrents that fell from the mountains, were sufficient to satisfy him that those mountains abounded with the richest gold mines. St. Domingo, therefore, was represented as a country abounding with gold, and, upon that account (according to the prejudices not only of the present times, but of those times), an inexhaustible source of real wealth to the crown and kingdom of Spain. When Columbus, upon his return from his first voyage, was introduced with a sort of triumphal honours to the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, the principal productions of the countries which he had discovered were carried in solemn procession before him. The only valuable part of them consisted in some little fillets, bracelets, and other ornaments of gold, and in some bales of cotton. The rest were mere objects of vulgar wonder and curiosity; some reeds of an extraordinary size, some birds of a very beautiful plumage, and some stuffed skins of the huge alligator and manati; all of which were preceded by six or seven of the wretched natives, whose singular colour and appearance added greatly to the novelty of the shew.

IN consequence of the representations of Columbus, the council of Castile determined to take possession

ſeſſion of countries of which the inhabitants were plainly incapable of defending themſelves. The pious purpoſe of converting them to Chriſtianity ſanctified the injuſtice of the project. But the hope of finding treaſures of gold there, was the ſole motive which prompted to undertake it; and to give this motive the greater weight, it was propoſed by Columbus that the half of all the gold and ſilver that ſhould be found there ſhould belong to the crown. This propoſal was approved of by the council.

As long as the whole or the far greater part of the gold, which the firſt adventurers imported into Europe, was got by ſo very eaſy a method as the plundering of the defenceleſs natives, it was not perhaps very difficult to pay even this heavy tax. But when the natives were once fairly ſtript of all that they had, which in St. Domingo, and in all the other countries diſcovered by Columbus, was done completely in ſix or eight years, and when in order to find more it had become neceſſary to dig for it in the mines, there was no longer any poſſibility of paying this tax. The rigorous exaction of it, accordingly, firſt occaſioned, it is ſaid, the total abandoning of the mines of St. Domingo, which have never been wrought ſince. It was ſoon reduced therefore to a third; then to a fifth; afterwards to a tenth; and at laſt to a twentieth part of the groſs produce of the gold mines. The tax upon ſilver continued for a long time to be a fifth of the groſs produce. It was reduced to a tenth only in the courſe of the preſent century. But the firſt adventurers do not appear to have been much intereſted about ſilver. Nothing leſs precious than gold ſeemed worthy of their attention.

ALL the other enterprizes of the Spaniards in the new world, ſubſequent to thoſe of Columbus, ſeem to have been prompted by the ſame motive. It was the ſacred thirſt of gold that carried Oieda, Nicueſſa, and

and Vasco Nugnes de Balboa to the isthmus of Darien, that carried Cortez to Mexico, and Almagro and Pizzarro to Chili and Peru. When those adventurers arrived upon any unknown coast, their first enquiry was always if there was any gold to be found there; and according to the information which they received concerning this particular, they determined either to quit the country or to settle in it.

Of all those expensive and uncertain projects, however, which bring bankruptcy upon the greater part of the people who engage in them, there is none perhaps more perfectly ruinous than the search after new silver and gold mines. It is perhaps the most disadvantageous lottery in the world, or the one in which the gain of those who draw the prizes bears the least proportion to the loss of those who draw the blanks: for though the prizes are few and the blanks are many, the common price of a ticket is the whole fortune of a very rich man. Projects of mining, instead of replacing the capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profits of stock, commonly absorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which of all others a prudent lawgiver, who desired to increase the capital of his nation, would least chuse to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater share of that capital than what would go to them of its own accord. Such in reality is the absurd confidence which almost all men have in their own good fortune, that wherever there is the least probability of success, too great a share of it is apt to go to them of its own accord.

But though the judgment of sober reason and experience concerning such projects has always been extremely unfavourable, that of human avidity has commonly been quite otherwise. The same passion which has suggested to so many people the absurd idea of the philosopher's stone, has suggested to others the equally

equally abſurd one of immenſe rich mines of gold and ſilver. They did not conſider that the value of thoſe metals has, in all ages and nations, ariſen chiefly from their ſcarcity, and that their ſcarcity has ariſen from the very ſmall quantities of them which nature has any where depoſited in one place, from the hard and intractable ſubſtances with which ſhe has almoſt every where ſurrounded thoſe ſmall quantities, and conſequently from the labour and expence which are every where neceſſary in order to penetrate to and get at them. They flattered themſelves that veins of thoſe metals might in many places be found as large and as abundant as thoſe which are commonly found of lead, or copper, or tin, or iron. The dream of Sir Walter Raleigh concerning the golden city and country of Eldorado, may ſatisfy us, that even wiſe men are not always exempt from ſuch ſtrange deluſions. More than a hundred years after the death of that great man, the Jeſuit Gumila was ſtill convinced of the reality of that wonderful country, and expreſſed with great warmth, and, I dare to ſay, with great ſincerity, how happy he ſhould be to carry the light of the goſpel to a people who could ſo well reward the pious labours of their miſſionary.

IN the countries firſt diſcovered by the Spaniards, no gold or ſilver mines are at preſent known which are ſuppoſed to be worth the working. The quantities of thoſe metals which the firſt adventurers are ſaid to have found there, had probably been very much magnified, as well as the fertility of the mines which were wrought immediately after the firſt diſcovery. What thoſe adventurers were reported to have found, however, was ſufficient to inflame the avidity of all their countrymen. Every Spaniard who ſailed to America expected to find an Eldorado. Fortune too did upon this what ſhe has done upon very few other occaſions. She realized in ſome meaſure the extra-

extravagant hopes of her votaries, and in the discovery and conquest of Mexico and Peru (of which the one happened about thirty, the other about forty years after the first expedition of Columbus), she presented them with something not very unlike that profusion of the precious metals which they sought for.

A PROJECT of commerce to the East Indies, therefore, gave occasion to the first discovery of the West. A project of conquest gave occasion to all the establishments of the Spaniards in those newly discovered countries. The motive which excited them to this conquest was a project of gold and silver mines; and a course of accidents, which no human wisdom could foresee, rendered this project much more successful than the undertakers had any reasonable grounds for expecting.

THE first adventurers of all the other nations of Europe who attempted to make settlements in America, were animated by the like chimerical views; but they were not equally successful. It was more than a hundred years after the first settlement of the Brazils, before any silver, gold, or diamond mines were discovered there. In the English, French, Dutch, and Danish colonies, none have ever yet been discovered; at least none that are at present supposed to be worth the working. The first English settlers in North America, however, offered a fifth of all the gold and silver which should be found there to the king, as a motive for granting them their patents. In the patents to Sir Walter Raleigh, to the London and Plymouth companies, to the council of Plymouth, &c. this fifth was accordingly reserved to the crown. To the expectation of finding gold and silver mines, those first settlers too joined that of discovering a north-west passage to the East Indies. They have hitherto been disappointed in both.

PART SECOND.

Cauſes of the Proſperity of new Colonies.

THE colony of a civilized nation which takes poſſeſſion, either of a waſte country, or of one ſo thinly inhabited, that the natives eaſily give place to the new ſettlers, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatneſs than any other human ſociety.

THE coloniſts carry out with them a knowledge of agriculture and of other uſeful arts, ſuperior to what can grow up of its own accord in the courſe of many centuries among ſavage and barbarous nations. They carry out with them too the habit of ſubordination, ſome notion of the regular government which takes place in their own country, of the ſyſtem of laws which ſupport it, and of a regular adminiſtration of juſtice; and they naturally eſtabliſh ſomething of the ſame kind in the new ſettlement. But among ſavage and barbarous nations, the natural progreſs of law and government is ſtill ſlower than the natural progreſs of arts, after law and government have been ſo far eſtabliſhed, as is neceſſary for their protection. Every coloniſt gets more land than he can poſſibly cultivate. He has no rent, and ſcarce any taxes to pay. No landlord ſhares with him in its produce, and the ſhare of the ſovereign is commonly but a trifle. He has every motive to render as great as poſſible a produce, which is thus to be almoſt entirely his own. But his land is commonly ſo extenſive, that with all his own induſtry, and with all the induſtry of other people whom he can get to employ, he can ſeldom make it produce the tenth part of what it is capable of producing. He is eager, therefore, to collect labourers from all quarters, and to reward them with the moſt liberal wages. But thoſe liberal

wages,

wages, joined to the plenty and cheapneſs of land, ſoon make thoſe labourers leave him, in order to become landlords themſelves, and to reward, with equal liberality, other labourers, who ſoon leave them for the ſame reaſon that they left their firſt maſter. The liberal reward of labour encourages marriage. The children, during the tender years of infancy, are well fed and properly taken care of, and when they are grown up, the value of their labour greatly overpays their maintenance. When arrived at maturity, the high price of labour, and the low price of land, enable them to eſtabliſh themſelves in the ſame manner as their fathers did before them.

In other countries, rent and profit eat up wages, and the two ſuperior orders of people oppreſs the inferior one. But in new colonies, the intereſt of the two ſuperior orders obliges them to treat the inferior one with more generoſity and humanity; at leaſt, where that inferior one is not in a ſtate of ſlavery. Waſte lands, of the greateſt natural fertility, are to be had for a trifle. The increaſe of revenue which the proprietor, who is always the undertaker, expects from their improvement, conſtitutes his profit; which in theſe circumſtances is commonly very great. But this great profit cannot be made without employing the labour of other people in clearing and cultivating the land; and the diſproportion between the great extent of the land and the ſmall number of the people, which commonly takes place in new colonies, makes it difficult for him to get this labour. He does not, therefore, diſpute about wages, but is willing to employ labour at any price. The high wages of labour encourage population. The cheapneſs and plenty of good land encourage improvement, and enable the proprietor to pay thoſe high wages. In thoſe wages conſiſt almoſt the whole price of the land; and though they are high, conſidered as the wages of

labour,

labour, they are low, conſidered as the price of what is ſo very valuable. What encourages the progreſs of population and improvement, encourages that of real wealth and greatneſs.

THE progreſs of many of the ancient Greek colonies towards wealth and greatneſs, ſeems accordingly to have been very rapid. In the courſe of a century or two, ſeveral of them appear to have rivalled, and even to have ſurpaſſed their mother cities. Syracuſe and Agrigentum in Sicily, Tarentum and Locri in Italy, Epheſus and Miletus in Leſſer Aſia, appear by all accounts to have been at leaſt equal to any of the cities of ancient Greece. Though poſterior in their eſtabliſhment, yet all the arts of refinement, philoſophy, poetry, and eloquence, ſeem to have been cultivated as early, and to have been improved as highly in them, as in any part of the mother country. The ſchools of the two oldeſt Greek philoſophers, thoſe of Thales and Pythagoras, were eſtabliſhed, it is remarkable, not in ancient Greece, but the one in an Aſiatic, the other in an Italian colony. All thoſe colonies had eſtabliſhed themſelves in countries inhabited by ſavage and barbarous nations, who eaſily gave place to the new ſettlers. They had plenty of good land, and as they were altogether independent of the mother city, they were at liberty to manage their own affairs in the way that they judged was moſt ſuitable to their own intereſt.

THE hiſtory of the Roman colonies is by no means ſo brilliant. Some of them, indeed, ſuch as Florence, have, in the courſe of many ages, and after the fall of the mother city, grown up to be conſiderable ſtates. But the progreſs of no one of them ſeems ever to have been very rapid. They were all eſtabliſhed in conquered provinces, which in moſt caſes had been fully inhabited before. The quantity of land aſſigned to each coloniſt was ſeldom very conſiderable,

derable, and as the colony was not independent, they were not always at liberty to manage their own affairs in the way that they judged was moſt ſuitable to their own intereſt.

In the plenty of good land, the European colonies eſtabliſhed in America and the Weſt Indies reſemble, and even greatly ſurpaſs, thoſe of ancient Greece. In their dependency upon the mother ſtate, they reſemble thoſe of ancient Rome; but their great diſtance from Europe has in all of them alleviated more or leſs the effects of this dependency. Their ſituation has placed them leſs in the view and leſs in the power of their mother country. In purſuing their intereſt their own way, their conduct has, upon many occaſions, been overlooked, either becauſe not known or not underſtood in Europe; and upon ſome occaſions it has been fairly ſuffered and ſubmitted to, becauſe their diſtance rendered it difficult to reſtrain it. Even the violent and arbitrary government of Spain has, upon many occaſions, been obliged to recall or ſoften the orders which had been given for the government of her colonies, for fear of a general inſurrection. The progreſs of all the European colonies in wealth, population, and improvement, has accordingly been very great.

The crown of Spain, by its ſhare of the gold and ſilver, derived ſome revenue from its colonies, from the moment of their firſt eſtabliſhment. It was a revenue too, of a nature to excite in human avidity the moſt extravagant expectations of ſtill greater riches. The Spaniſh colonies, therefore, from the moment of their firſt eſtabliſhment, attracted very much the attention of their mother country; while thoſe of the other European nations were for a long time in a great meaſure neglected. The former did not, perhaps, thrive the better in conſequence of this attention; nor the latter the worſe in conſequence

of this neglect. In proportion to the extent of the country which they in some measure possess, the Spanish colonies are considered as less populous and thriving than those of almost any other European nation. The progress even of the Spanish colonies, however, in population and improvement, has certainly been very rapid and very great. The city of Lima, founded since the conquest, is represented by Ulloa, as containing fifty thousand inhabitants near thirty years ago. Quito, which had been but a miserable hamlet of Indians, is represented by the same author as in his time equally populous. Gemelli Carreri, a pretended traveller, it is said, indeed, but who seems every where to have written upon extreme good information, represents the city of Mexico as containing a hundred thousand inhabitants; a number which, in spite of all the exaggerations of the Spanish writers, is, probably, more than five times greater than what it contained in the time of Montezuma. These numbers exceed greatly those of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the three greatest cities of the English colonies. Before the conquest of the Spaniards there were no cattle fit for draught either in Mexico or Peru. The lama was their only beast of burden, and its strength seems to have been a good deal inferior to that of a common ass. The plough was unknown among them. They were ignorant of the use of iron. They had no coined money, nor any established instrument of commerce of any kind. Their commerce was carried on by barter. A sort of wooden spade was their principal instrument of agriculture. Sharp stones served them for knives and hatchets to cut with; fish bones and the hard sinews of certain animals served them for needles to sew with; and these seem to have been their principal instruments of trade. In this state of things, it seems impossible, that either

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of thoſe empires could have been ſo much improved or ſo well cultivated as at preſent, when they are plentifully furniſhed with all ſorts of European cattle, and when the uſe of iron, of the plough, and of many of the arts of Europe, has been introduced among them. But the populouſneſs of every country muſt be in proportion to the degree of its improvement and cultivation. In ſpite of the cruel deſtruction of the natives which followed the conqueſt, theſe two great empires are, probably, more populous now than they ever were before: and the people are ſurely very different; for we muſt acknowledge, I apprehend, that the Spaniſh creoles are in many reſpects ſuperior to the ancient Indians.

AFTER the ſettlements of the Spaniards, that of the Portugueze in Brazil is the oldeſt of any European nation in America. But as for a long time after the firſt diſcovery, neither gold nor ſilver mines were found in it, and as it afforded, upon that account, little or no revenue to the crown, it was for a long time in a great meaſure neglected; and during this ſtate of neglect, it grew up to be a great and powerful colony. While Portugal was under the dominion of Spain, Brazil was attacked by the Dutch, who got poſſeſſion of ſeven of the fourteen provinces into which it is divided. They expected ſoon to conquer the other ſeven, when Portugal recovered its independency by the elevation of the family of Braganza to the throne. The Dutch then, as enemies to the Spaniards, became friends to the Portugueſe, who were likewiſe the enemies of the Spaniards. They agreed, therefore, to leave that part of Brazil, which they had not conquered, to the king of Portugal, who agreed to leave that part which they had conquered to them, as a matter not worth diſputing about with ſuch good allies. But the Dutch government ſoon began to oppreſs the Portugueze coloniſts,

who,

who, instead of amusing themselves with complaints, took arms against their new masters, and by their own valour and resolution, with the connivance, indeed, but without any avowed assistance from the mother country, drove them out of Brazil. The Dutch, therefore, finding it impossible to keep any part of the country to themselves, were contented that it should be entirely restored to the crown of Portugal. In this colony there are said to be more than six hundred thousand people, either Portugueze or descended from Portugueze, creoles, mulattoes, and a mixed race between Portugueze and Brazilians. No one colony in America is supposed to contain so great a number of people of European extraction.

TOWARDS the end of the fifteenth, and during the greater part of the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal were the two great naval powers upon the ocean: for though the commerce of Venice extended to every part of Europe, its fleets had scarce ever sailed beyond the Mediterranean. The Spaniards, in virtue of the first discovery, claimed all America as their own; and, though they could not hinder so great a naval power as that of Portugal from settling in Brazil, such was, at that time, the terror of their name, that the greater part of the other nations of Europe were afraid to establish themselves in any other part of that great continent. The French, who attempted to settle in Florida, were all murdered by the Spaniards. But the declension of the naval power of this latter nation, in consequence of the defeat or miscarriage of, what they called, their Invincible Armada, which happened towards the end of the sixteenth century, put it out of their power to obstruct any longer the settlements of the other European nations. In the course of the seventeenth century, therefore, the English, French, Dutch, Danes,

Danes, and Swedes, all the great nations who had any ports upon the ocean, attempted to make some settlements in the new world.

THE Swedes eſtabliſhed themſelves in New Jerſey; and the number of Swediſh families ſtill to be found there, ſufficiently demonſtrates, that this colony was very likely to proſper, had it been protected by the mother country. But being neglected by Sweden, it was ſoon ſwallowed up by the Dutch colony of New York, which again, in 1674, fell under the dominion of the Engliſh.

THE ſmall iſlands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz are the only countries in the new world that have ever been poſſeſſed by the Danes. Theſe little ſettlements too were under the government of an excluſive company, which had the ſole right, both of purchaſing the ſurplus produce of the coloniſts, and of ſupplying them with ſuch goods of other countries as they wanted, and which, therefore, both in its purchaſes and ſales, had not only the power of oppreſſing them, but the greateſt temptation to do ſo. The government of an excluſive company of merchants, is, perhaps, the worſt of all governments for any country whatever. It was not, however, able to ſtop altogether the progreſs of theſe colonies, though it rendered it more ſlow and languid. The late king of Denmark diſſolved this company, and ſince that time the proſperity of theſe colonies has been very great.

THE Dutch ſettlements in the Weſt, as well as thoſe in the Eaſt Indies, were originally put under the government of an excluſive company. The progreſs of ſome of them, therefore, though it has been conſiderable, in compariſon with that of almoſt any country that has been long peopled and eſtabliſhed, has been languid and ſlow in compariſon with that of the greater part of new colonies. The colony of Surinam, though very conſiderable, is ſtill inferior to the

the greater part of the ſugar colonies of the other European nations. The colony of Nova Belgia, now divided into the two provinces of New York and New Jerſey, would probably have ſoon become conſiderable too, even though it had remained under the government of the Dutch. The plenty and cheapneſs of good land are ſuch powerful cauſes of proſperity, that the very worſt government is ſcarce capable of checking altogether the efficacy of their operation. The great diſtance too from the mother country would enable the coloniſts to evade more or leſs, by ſmuggling, the monopoly which the company enjoyed againſt them. At preſent the company allows all Dutch ſhips to trade to Surinam upon paying two and a half per cent. upon the value of their cargo for a licence; and only reſerves to itſelf excluſively the direct trade from Africa to America, which conſiſts almoſt entirely in the ſlave trade. This relaxation in the excluſive privileges of the company, is probably the principal cauſe of that degree of proſperity which that colony at preſent enjoys. Curacoa and Euſtatia, the two principal iſlands belonging to the Dutch, are free ports open to the ſhips of all nations; and this freedom, in the midſt of better colonies whoſe ports are open to thoſe of one nation only, has been the great cauſe of the proſperity of thoſe two barren iſlands.

THE French colony of Canada was, during the greater part of the laſt century, and ſome part of the preſent, under the government of an excluſive company. Under ſo unfavourable an adminiſtration its progreſs was neceſſarily very ſlow in compariſon with that of other new colonies; but it became much more rapid when this company was diſſolved after the fall of what is called the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme. When the Engliſh got poſſeſſion of this country, they found in it near double the number of inhabitants which father Charlevoix had aſſigned to it between twenty and thirty

ty years before. That jesuit had travelled over the whole country, and had no inclination to represent it as less considerable than it was.

THE French colony of St. Domingo was established by pirates and free-booters, who, for a long time, neither required the protection, nor acknowledged the authority of France; and when that race of banditti became so far citizens as to acknowledge this authority, it was for a long time necessary to exercise it with very great gentleness. During this period the population and improvement of this colony increased very fast. Even the oppression of the exclusive company, to which it was for some time subjected, with all the other colonies of France, though it no doubt retarded, had not been able to stop its progress altogether. The course of its prosperity returned as soon as it was relieved from that oppression. It is now the most important of the sugar colonies of the West Indies, and its produce is said to be greater than that of all the English sugar colonies put together. The other sugar colonies of France are in general all very thriving.

BUT there are no colonies of which the progress has been more rapid than that of the English in North America.

PLENTY of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new colonies.

IN the plenty of good land the English colonies of North America, though, no doubt, very abundantly provided, are however, inferior to those of the Spaniards and Portugueze, and not superior to some of those possessed by the French before the late war. But the political institutions of the English colonies have been more favourable to the improvement and cultivation of this land, than those of any of the other three nations.

FIRST, the engrossing of uncultivated land, though

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it has by no means been prevented altogether, has been more reſtrained in the Engliſh colonies than in any other. The colony law which impoſes upon every proprietor the obligation of improving and cultivating, within a limited time, a certain proportion of his lands, and which, in caſe of failure, declares thoſe neglected lands grantable to any other perſon; though it has not, perhaps, been very ſtrictly executed, has, however, had ſome effect.

SECONDLY, in Pennſylvania there is no right of primogeniture, and lands, like moveables, are divided equally among all the children of the family. In three of the provinces of New England the oldeſt has only a double ſhare, as in the Moſaical law. Though in thoſe provinces, therefore, too great a quantity of land ſhould ſometimes be engroſſed by a particular individual, it is likely, in the courſe of a generation or two, to be ſufficiently divided again. In the other Engliſh colonies, indeed, the right of primogeniture takes place, as in the law of England. But in all the Engliſh colonies the tenure of the lands, which are all held by free ſocage, facilitates alienation, and the grantee of any extenſive tract of land generally finds it for his intereſt to alienate, as faſt as he can, the greater part of it, reſerving only a ſmall quit-rent. In the Spaniſh and Portugueze colonies, what is called the right of Majorazzo* takes place in the ſucceſſion of all thoſe great eſtates to which any title of honour is annexed. Such eſtates go all to one perſon, and are in effect entailed and unalienable. The French colonies, indeed, are ſubject to the cuſtom of Paris, which, in the inheritance of land, is much more favourable to the younger children than the law of England. But, in the French colonies, if any part of an eſtate, held by the noble tenure of chivalry and homage, is alienated, it is, for a limited time, ſubject to

* Jus Majoratus.

to the right of redemption, either by the heir of the ſuperior or by the heir of the family; and all the largeſt eſtates of the country are held by ſuch noble tenures, which neceſſarily embarraſs alienation. But, in a new colony, a great uncultivated eſtate is likely to be much more ſpeedily divided by alienation than by ſucceſſion. The plenty and cheapneſs of good land, it has already been obſerved, are the principal cauſes of the rapid proſperity of new colonies. The engroſſing of land, in effect, deſtroys this plenty and cheapneſs. The engroſſing of uncultivated land, beſides, is the greateſt obſtruction to its improvement. But the labour that is employed in the improvement and cultivation of land affords the greateſt and moſt valuable produce to the ſociety. The produce of labour, in this caſe, pays not only its own wages, and the profit of the ſtock which employs it, but the rent of the land too upon which it is employed. The labour of the Engliſh coloniſts, therefore, being more employed in the improvement and cultivation of land, is likely to afford a greater and more valuable produce, than that of any of the other three nations, which, by the engroſſing of land, is more or leſs diverted towards other employments.

THIRDLY, the labour of the Engliſh coloniſts is not only likely to afford a greater and more valuable produce, but, in conſequence of the moderation of their taxes, a greater proportion of this produce belongs to themſelves, which they may ſtore up and employ in putting into motion a ſtill greater quantity of labour. The Engliſh coloniſts have never yet contributed any thing towards the defence of the mother country, or towards the ſupport of its civil government. They themſelves, on the contrary, have hitherto been defended almoſt entirely at the expence of the mother country. But the expence of fleets and armies is out of all proportion greater than the

neceſſary expence of civil government. The expence of their own civil government has always been very moderate. It has generally been confined to what was neceſſary for paying competent ſalaries to the governor, to the judges, and to ſome other officers of police, and for maintaining a few of the moſt uſeful public works. The expence of the civil eſtabliſhment of Maſſachuſett's Bay, before the commencement of the preſent diſturbances, uſed to be but about 18,000*l.* a year. That of New Hampſhire and Rhode Iſland 3,500*l.* each. That of Connecticut 4,000*l.* That of New York and Pennſylvania 4,500*l.* each. That of New Jerſey 1,200*l.* That of Virginia and South Carolina 8,000*l.* each. The civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia and Georgia are partly ſupported by an annual grant of parliament. But Nova Scotia pays, beſides, about 7,000*l.* a year towards the public expences of the colony; and Georgia about 2,500*l.* a year. All the different civil eſtabliſhments in North America, in ſhort, excluſive of thoſe of Maryland and North Carolina, of which no exact account has been got, did not, before the commencement of the preſent diſturbances, coſt the inhabitants above 64,700*l.* a year; an ever memorable example at how ſmall an expence three millions of people may not only be governed, but well governed. The moſt important part of the expence of government, indeed, that of defence and protection, has conſtantly fallen upon the mother country. The ceremonial too of the civil government in the colonies, upon the reception of a new governor, upon the opening of a new aſſembly, &c. though ſufficiently decent, is not accompanied with any expenſive pomp or parade. Their eccleſiaſtical government is conducted upon a plan equally frugal. Tithes are unknown among them; and their clergy, who are far from being numerous, are maintained

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either by moderate ſtipends, or by the voluntary contributions of the people. The power of Spain and Portugal, on the contrary, derives ſome ſupport from the taxes levied upon their colonies. France, indeed, has never drawn any conſiderable revenue from its colonies, the taxes which it levies upon them being generally ſpent among them. But the colony government of all theſe three nations is conducted upon a much more extenſive plan, and is accompanied with a much more expenſive ceremonial. The ſums ſpent upon the reception of a new viceroy of Peru, for example, have frequently been enormous. Such ceremonials are not only real taxes paid by the rich coloniſts upon thoſe particular occaſions, but they ſerve to introduce among them the habit of vanity and expence upon all other occaſions. They are not only very grievous occaſional taxes, but they contribute to eſtabliſh perpetual taxes of the ſame kind ſtill more grievous; the ruinous taxes of private luxury and extravagance. In the colonies of all thoſe three nations too, the eccleſiaſtical government is extremely oppreſſive.—Tithes take place in all of them, and are levied with the utmoſt rigour in thoſe of Spain and Portugal. All of them, beſides, are oppreſſed with a numerous race of mendicant friars, whoſe beggary being not only licenſed, but conſecrated by religion, is a moſt grievous tax upon the poor people, who are moſt carefully taught that it is a duty to give, and a very great ſin to refuſe them their charity. Over and above all this, the clergy are, in all of them, the greateſt engroſſers of land.

FOURTHLY, in the diſpoſal of their ſurplus produce, or of what is over and above their own conſumption, the Engliſh colonies have been more favoured, and have been allowed a more extenſive market, than thoſe of any other European nation. Every European nation has endeavoured more or leſs to monopolize

nopolize to itſelf the commerce of its colonies, and, upon that account, has prohibited the ſhips of foreign nations from trading to them, and has prohibited them from importing European goods from any foreign nation. But the manner in which this monopoly has been exerciſed in different nations has been very different.

SOME nations have given up the whole commerce of their colonies to an excluſive company, of whom the coloniſts were obliged to buy all ſuch European goods as they wanted, and to whom they were obliged to ſell the whole of their own ſurplus produce. It was the intereſt of the company, therefore, not only to ſell the former as dear, and to buy the latter as cheap as poſſible, but to buy no more of the latter, even at this low price, than what they could diſpoſe of for a very high price in Europe. It was their intereſt, not only to degrade in all caſes the value of the ſurplus produce of the colony, but in many caſes to diſcourage and keep down the natural increaſe of its quantity. Of all the expedients that can well be contrived to ſtunt the natural growth of a new colony, that of an excluſive company is undoubtedly the moſt effectual. This, however, has been the policy of Holland, though their company, in the courſe of the preſent century, has given up in many reſpects the exertion of their excluſive privilege. This too was the policy of Denmark till the reign of the late king. It has occaſionally been the policy of France, and of late, ſince 1755, after it had been abandoned by all other nations, on account of its abſurdity, it has become the policy of Portugal with regard at leaſt to two of the principal provinces of Brazil, Fernambuco and Marannon.

OTHER nations, without eſtabliſhing an excluſive company, have confined the whole commerce of their colonies to a particular port of the mother country,

try, from whence no ship was allowed to sail, but either in a fleet and at a particular season, or, if single, in consequence of a particular licence, which in most cases was very well paid for. This policy opened, indeed, the trade of the colonies to all the natives of the mother country, provided they traded from the proper port, at the proper season, and in the proper vessels. But as all the different merchants, who joined their stocks in order to fit out those licensed vessels, would find it for their interest to act in concert, the trade which was carried on in this manner would necessarily be conducted very nearly upon the same principles as that of an exclusive company.—The profit of those merchants would be almost equally exorbitant and oppressive. The colonies would be ill supplied, and would be obliged both to buy very dear, and to sell very cheap. This, however, till within these few years, had always been the policy of Spain, and the price of all European goods, accordingly, is said to have been enormous in the Spanish West Indies. At Quito, we are told by Ulloa, a pound of iron sold for about four and sixpence, and a pound of steel for about six and ninepence sterling. But it is chiefly in order to purchase European goods, that the colonies part with their own produce. The more, therefore, they pay for the one, the less they really get for the other, and the dearness of the one is the same thing with the cheapness of the other. The policy of Portugal is in this respect the same as the ancient policy of Spain, with regard to all its colonies, except Fernambuco and Marannon, and with regard to these it has lately adopted a still worse.

OTHER nations leave the trade of their colonies free to all their subjects who may carry it on from all the different ports of the mother country, and who have occasion for no other licence than the com-

mon dispatches of the custom-house. In this case the number and dispersed situation of the different traders renders it impossible for them to enter into any general combination, and their competition is sufficient to hinder them from making very exorbitant profits. Under so liberal a policy the colonies are enabled both to sell their own produce and to buy the goods of Europe at a reasonable price. But since the dissolution of the Plymouth company, when our colonies were but in their infancy, this has always been the policy of England. It has generally too been that of France, and has been uniformly so since the dissolution of what, in England, is commonly called their Missisippi company. The profits of the trade, therefore, which France and England carry on with their colonies, though no doubt somewhat higher than if the competition was free to all other nations, are, however, by no means exorbitant; and the price of European goods accordingly is not extravagantly high in the greater part of the colonies of either of those nations.

IN the exportation of their own surplus produce too, it is only with regard to certain commodities that the colonies of Great Britain are confined to the market of the mother country. These commodities having been enumerated in the act of navigation and in some other subsequent acts, have upon that account been called *enumerated commodities*. The rest are called *non-enumerated*; and may be exported directly to other countries, provided it is in British or Plantation ships, of which the owners and three-fourths of the mariners are British subjects.

AMONG the non-enumerated commodities are some of the most important productions of America and the West Indies; grain of all sorts, lumber, salt provisions, fish, sugar, and rum.

GRAIN is naturally the first and principal object of

of the culture of all new colonies. By allowing them a very extenſive market for it, the law encourages them to extend this culture much beyond the conſumption of a thinly inhabited country, and thus to provide beforehand an ample ſubſiſtence for a continually increaſing population.

In a country quite covered with wood, where timber conſequently is of little or no value, the expence of clearing the ground is the principal obſtacle to improvement. By allowing the colonies a very extenſive market for their lumber, the law endeavours to facilitate improvement by raiſing the price of a commodity which would otherwiſe be of little value, and thereby enabling them to make ſome profit of what would otherwiſe be mere expence.

In a country neither half-peopled nor half-cultivated, cattle naturally multiply beyond the conſumption of the inhabitants, and are often upon that account of little or no value. But it is neceſſary, it has already been ſhewn, that the price of cattle ſhould bear a certain proportion to that of corn before the greater part of the lands of any country can be improved. By allowing to American cattle, in all ſhapes, dead and alive, a very extenſive market, the law endeavours to raiſe the value of a commodity of which the high price is ſo very eſſential to improvement. The good effects of this liberty, however, muſt be ſomewhat diminiſhed by the 4th of George III. c. 15. which puts hides and ſkins among the enumerated commodities, and thereby tends to reduce the value of American cattle.

To increaſe the ſhipping and naval power of Great Britain, by the extenſion of the fiſheries of our colonies, is an object which the legiſlature ſeems to have had almoſt conſtantly in view. Thoſe fiſheries, upon this account, have had all the encouragement which freedom can give them, and they have flouriſhed

riſhed accordingly. The New England fiſhery in particular was, before the late diſturbances, one of the moſt important, perhaps, in the world. The whale-fiſhery which, notwithſtanding an extravagant bounty, is in Great Britain carried on to ſo little purpoſe, that in the opinion of many people (which I do not, however, pretend to warrant) the whole produce does not much exceed the value of the bounties which are annually paid for it, is in New England carried on without any bounty to a very great extent. Fiſh is one of the principal articles with which the North Americans trade to Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean.

SUGAR was originally an enumerated commodity which could be exported only to Great Britain. But in 1731, upon a repreſentation of the ſugar planters, its exportation was permitted to all parts of the world. The reſtrictions, however, with which this liberty was granted, joined to the high price of ſugar in Great Britain, have rendered it, in a great meaſure, ineffectual. Great Britain and her colonies ſtill continue to be almoſt the ſole market for all the ſugar produced in the Britiſh plantations. Their conſumption increaſes ſo faſt, that, though in conſequence of the increaſing improvement of Jamaica, as well as of the Ceded Iſlands, the importation of ſugar has increaſed very greatly within theſe twenty years, the exportation to foreign countries is ſaid to be not much greater than before.

RUM is a very important article in the trade which the Americans carry on to the coaſt of Africa, from which they bring back negro ſlaves in return.

IF the whole ſurplus produce of America in grain of all ſorts, in ſalt proviſions and in fiſh, had been put into the enumeration, and thereby forced into the market of Great Britain, it would have interfered too much with the produce of the induſtry of our own people.

people. It was probably not ſo much from any regard to the intereſt of America, as from a jealouſy of this interference, that thoſe important commodities have not only been kept out of the enumeration, but that the importation into Great Britain of all grain, except rice, and of ſalt proviſions, has, in the ordinary ſtate of the law, been prohibited.

THE non-enumerated commodities could originally be exported to all parts of the world. Lumber and rice, having been once put into the enumeration, when they were afterwards taken out of it, were confined, as to the European market, to the countries that lie ſouth of Cape Finiſterre. By the 6th of George III. c. 52. all non-enumerated commodities were ſubjected to the like reſtriction. The parts of Europe which lie ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, are not manufacturing countries, and we were leſs jealous of the colony ſhips carrying home from them any manufactures which could interfere with our own.

THE enumerated commodities are of two ſorts: firſt, ſuch as are either the peculiar produce of America, or as cannot be produced, or at leaſt are not produced, in the mother country. Of this kind are, melaſſes, coffee, cacao-nuts, tobacco, pimento, ginger, whale-fins, raw ſilk, cotton-wool, beaver and other peltry of America, indigo, fuſtic, and other dying woods: ſecondly, ſuch as are not the peculiar produce of America, but which are and may be produced in the mother country, though not in ſuch quantities as to ſupply the greater part of her demand, which is principally ſupplied from foreign countries. Of this kind are all naval ſtores, maſts, yards, and bowſprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine, pig and bar iron, copper ore, hides and ſkins, pot and pearl aſhes. The largeſt importation of commodities of the firſt kind could not diſcourage the growth or interfere with the ſale of any part of the produce of the mother country.

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By confining them to the home market, our merchants, it was expected, would not only be enabled to buy them cheaper in the Plantations, and consequently to sell them with a better profit at home, but to establish between the Plantations and foreign countries an advantageous carrying trade, of which Great Britain was necessarily to be the center or emporium, as the European country into which those commodities were first to be imported. The importation of commodities of the second kind might be so managed too, it was supposed, as to interfere, not with the sale of those of the same kind which were produced at home, but with that of those which were imported from foreign countries; because, by means of proper duties, they might be rendered always somewhat dearer than the former, and yet a good deal cheaper than the latter. By confining such commodities to the home market, therefore, it was proposed to discourage the produce, not of Great Britain, but of some foreign countries with which the balance of trade was believed to be unfavourable to Great Britain.

THE prohibition of exporting from the colonies, to any other country but Great Britain, masts, yards, and bowsprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine, naturally tended to lower the price of timber in the colonies, and consequently to increase the expence of clearing their lands, the principal obstacle to their improvement. But about the beginning of the present century, in 1703, the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raise the price of their commodities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation, except in their own ships, at their own price, and in such quantities as they thought proper. In order to counteract this notable piece of mercantile policy, and to render herself as much as possible independent, not only of Sweden, but of all the other northern powers, Great Britain gave a bounty upon the importation of

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naval ſtores from America, and the effect of this bounty was to raiſe the price of timber in America, much more than the confinement to the home market could lower it: and as both regulations were enacted at the ſame time, their joint effect was rather to encourage than to diſcourage the clearing of land in America.

THOUGH pig and bar iron too have been put among the enumerated commodities, yet as, when imported from America, they are exempted from conſiderable duties to which they are ſubject when imported from any other country, the one part of the regulation contributes more to encourage the erection of furnaces in America, than the other to diſcourage it. There is no manufacture which occaſions ſo great a conſumption of wood as a furnace, or which can contribute ſo much to the clearing of a country overgrown with it.

THE tendency of ſome of theſe regulations to raiſe the value of timber in America, and thereby to facilitate the clearing of the land, was neither, perhaps, intended nor underſtood by the legiſlature. Though their beneficial effects, however, have been in this reſpect accidental, they have not upon that account been leſs real.

THE moſt perfect freedom of trade is permitted between the Britiſh colonies of America and the Weſt Indies, both in the enumerated and in the non-enumerated commodities. Thoſe colonies are now become ſo populous and thriving, that each of them finds in ſome of the others a great and extenſive market for every part of its produce. All of them taken together, they make a great internal market for the produce of one another.

THE liberality of England, however, towards the trade of her colonies has been confined chiefly to what concerns the market for their produce, either in its rude ſtate, or in what may be called the very firſt ſtage of

of manufacture. The more advanced or more refined manufactures even of the colony produce, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain chuſe to reſerve to themſelves, and have prevailed upon the legiſlature to prevent their eſtabliſhment in the colonies, ſometimes by high duties, and ſometimes by abſolute prohibitions.

WHILE, for example, Muſkovado ſugars from the Britiſh plantations, pay upon importation only 6*s.* 4*d.* the hundred weight; white ſugars pay 1*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*; and refined, either double or ſingle, in loaves 4*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{8}{20}$. When thoſe high duties were impoſed, Great Britain was the ſole, and ſhe ſtill continues to be the principal market to which the ſugars of the Britiſh colonies could be exported. They amounted therefore to a prohibition, at firſt of claying or refining ſugar for any foreign market, and at preſent of claying or refining it for the market, which takes off, perhaps, more than nine-tenths of the whole produce. The manufacture of claying or refining ſugar accordingly, though it has flouriſhed in all the ſugar colonies of France, has been little cultivated in any of thoſe of England, except for the market of the colonies themſelves. While Grenada was in the hands of the French, there was a refinery of ſugar, by claying at leaſt, upon almoſt every plantation. Since it fell into thoſe of the Engliſh, almoſt all works of this kind have been given up, and there are at preſent, October 1773, I am aſſured, not above two or three remaining in the iſland. At preſent, however, by an indulgence of the cuſtom-houſe, clayed or refined ſugar, if reduced from loaves into powder, is commonly imported as Muſkovado.

WHILE Great Britain encourages in America the manufactures of pig and bar iron, by exempting them from duties to which the like commodities are ſubject when imported from any other country, ſhe impoſes

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an abſolute prohibition upon the erection of ſteel furnaces and ſlitting mills in any of her American plantations. She will not ſuffer her coloniſts to work in thoſe more refined manufactures even for their own conſumption, but inſiſts upon their purchaſing of her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind which they have occaſion for.

She prohibits the exportation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land upon horſeback or in a cart, of hats, of wools and woollen goods, of the produce of America; a regulation which effectually prevents the eſtabliſhment of any manufacture of ſuch commodities for diſtant ſale, and confines the induſtry of her coloniſts in this way to ſuch coarſe and houſehold manufactures, as a private family commonly makes for its own uſe, or for that of ſome of its neighbours in the ſame province.

To prohibit a great people, however, from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their ſtock and induſtry in the way that they judge moſt advantageous to themſelves, is a manifeſt violation of the moſt ſacred rights of mankind. Unjuſt, however, as ſuch prohibitions may be, they have not hitherto been very hurtful to the colonies. Land is ſtill ſo cheap, and conſequently labour ſo dear among them, that they can import from the mother country, almoſt all the more refined or more advanced manufactures cheaper than they could make them for themſelves. Though they had not, therefore, been prohibited from eſtabliſhing ſuch manufactures, yet in their preſent ſtate of improvement, a regard to their own intereſt would, probably, have prevented them from doing ſo. In their preſent ſtate of improvement, thoſe prohibitions, perhaps, without cramping their induſtry, or reſtraining it from any employment to which it would have gone of its own accord, are only impertinent badges of

ſlavery impoſed upon them, without any ſufficient reaſon, by the groundleſs jealouſy of the merchants and manufacturers of the mother country. In a more advanced ſtate they might be really oppreſſive and inſupportable.

GREAT Britain too, as ſhe confines to her own market ſome of the moſt important productions of the colonies, ſo in compenſation ſhe gives to ſome of them an advantage in that market; ſometimes by impoſing higher duties upon the like productions when imported from other countries, and ſometimes by giving bounties upon their importation from the colonies. In the firſt way ſhe gives an advantage in the home-market to the ſugar, tobacco, and iron of her own colonies, and in the ſecond to their raw ſilk, to their hemp and flax, to their indigo, to their naval ſtores, and to their building timber. This ſecond way of encouraging the colony produce by bounties upon importation, is, ſo far as I have been able to learn, peculiar to Great Britain. The firſt is not. Portugal does not content herſelf with impoſing higher duties upon the importation of tobacco from any other country, but prohibits it under the ſevereſt penalties.

WITH regard to the importation of goods from Europe, England has likewiſe dealt more liberally with her colonies than any other nation.

GREAT Britain allows a part, almoſt always the half, generally a larger portion, and ſometimes the whole of the duty which is paid upon the importation of foreign goods, to be drawn back upon their exportation to any foreign country. No independent foreign country, it was eaſy to foreſee, would receive them if they came to it loaded with the heavy duties to which almoſt all foreign goods are ſubjected on their importation into Great Britain. Unleſs, therefore, ſome part of thoſe duties was drawn back upon expor-

exportation, there was an end of the carrying trade; a trade so much favoured by the mercantile system.

Our colonies, however, are by no means independent foreign countries; and Great Britain having assumed to herself the exclusive right of supplying them with all goods from Europe, might have forced them (in the same manner as other countries have done their colonies) to receive such goods, loaded with all the same duties which they paid in the mother country. But, on the contrary, till 1763, the same drawbacks were paid upon the exportation of the greater part of foreign goods to our colonies as to any independent foreign country. In 1763, indeed, by the 4th of Geo. III. c. 15. this indulgence was a good deal abated, and it was enacted, "That no part of "the duty called the old subsidy should be drawn "back for any goods of the growth, production, or "manufacture of Europe or the East Indies, which "should be exported from this kingdom to any Bri-"tish colony or plantation in America; wines, "white callicoes and muslins excepted." Before this law, many different sorts of foreign goods might have been bought cheaper in the Plantations than in the mother country; and some may still.

Of the greater part of the regulations concerning the colony trade, the merchants who carry it on, it must be observed, have been the principal advisers. We must not wonder, therefore, if, in the greater part of them, their interest has been more considered than either that of the colonies or that of the mother country. In their exclusive privilege of supplying the colonies with all the goods which they wanted from Europe, and of purchasing all such parts of their surplus produce as could not interfere with any of the trades which they themselves carried on at home, the interest of the colonies was sacrificed to the interest of those merchants. In allowing the same drawbacks

backs upon the re-exportation of the greater part of European and East India goods to the colonies, as upon their re-exportation to any independent country, the interest of the mother country was sacrificed to it, even according to the mercantile ideas of that interest. It was for the interest of the merchants to pay as little as possible for the foreign goods which they sent to the colonies, and, consequently, to get back as much as possible of the duties which they advanced upon their importation into Great Britain. They might thereby be enabled to sell in the colonies, either the same quantity of goods with a greater profit, or a greater quantity with the same profit, and, consequently, to gain something either in the one way or the other. It was, likewise, for the interest of the colonies to get all such goods as cheap and in as great abundance as possible. But this might not always be for the interest of the mother country. She might frequently suffer both in her revenue, by giving back a great part of the duties which had been paid upon the importation of such goods; and in her manufactures, by being undersold in the colony market, in consequence of the easy terms upon which foreign manufactures could be carried thither by means of those drawbacks. The progress of the linen manufacture of Great Britain, it is commonly said, has been a good deal retarded by the drawbacks upon the re-exportation of German linen to the American colonies.

BUT though the policy of Great Britain with regard to the trade of her colonies has been dictated by the same mercantile spirit as that of other nations, it has, however, upon the whole, been less illiberal and oppressive than that of any of them.

IN every thing, except their foreign trade, the liberty of the English colonists to manage their own affairs their own way is complete. It is in every respect

ſpect equal to that of their fellow-citizens at home, and is ſecured in the ſame manner, by an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people, who claim the ſole right of impoſing taxes for the ſupport of the colony government. The authority of this aſſembly overawes the executive power, and neither the meaneſt nor the moſt obnoxious coloniſt, as long as he obeys the law, has any thing to fear from the reſentment, either of the governor, or of any other civil or military officer in the province. The colony aſſemblies, though, like the houſe of commons in England, they are not always a very equal repreſentation of the people, yet they approach more nearly to that character; and as the executive power either has not the means to corrupt them, or, on account of the ſupport which it receives from the mother country, is not under the neceſſity of doing ſo, they are perhaps in general more influenced by the inclinations of their conſtituents. The councils, which, in the colony legiſlatures, correſpond to the houſe of lords in Great Britain, are not compoſed of an hereditary nobility. In ſome of the colonies, as in three of the governments of New England, thoſe councils are not appointed by the king, but choſen by the repreſentatives of the people. In none of the Engliſh colonies is there any hereditary nobility. In all of them, indeed, as in all other free countries, the deſcendent of an old colony family is more reſpected than an upſtart of equal merit and fortune: but he is only more reſpected, and he has no privileges by which he can be troubleſome to his neighbours. Before the commencement of the preſent diſturbances, the colony aſſemblies had not only the legiſlative, but a part of the executive power. In Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, they elected the governor. In the other colonies they appointed the revenue officers who collected the taxes impoſed by

those respective assemblies, to whom those officers were immediately responsible. There is more equality, therefore, among the English colonists than among the inhabitants of the mother country. Their manners are more republican, and their governments, those of three of the provinces of New England in particular, have hitherto been more republican too.

THE absolute governments of Spain, Portugal, and France, on the contrary, take place in their colonies; and the discretionary powers which such governments commonly delegate to all their inferior officers, are, on account of the great distance, naturally exercised there with more than ordinary violence. Under all absolute governments there is more liberty in the capital than in any other part of the country. The sovereign himself can never have either interest or inclination to pervert the order of justice, or to oppress the great body of the people. In the capital his presence overawes more or less all his inferior officers, who in the remote provinces, from whence the complaints of the people are less likely to reach him, can exercise their tyranny with much more safety. But the European colonies in America are more remote than the most distant provinces of the greatest empires which had ever been known before. The government of the English colonies is perhaps the only one which, since the world began, could give perfect security to the inhabitants of so very distant a province. The administration of the French colonies, however, has always been conducted with more gentleness and moderation than that of the Spanish and Portugueze. This superiority of conduct is suitable both to the character of the French nation, and to what forms the character of every nation, the nature of their government, which, although arbitrary and violent in comparison with

with that of Great Britain, is legal and free in comparison with those of Spain and Portugal.

It is in the progress of the North American colonies, however, that the superiority of the English policy chiefly appears. The progress of the sugar colonies of France has been at least equal, perhaps superior, to that of the greater part of those of England; and yet the sugar colonies of England enjoy a free government nearly of the same kind with that which takes place in her colonies of North America. But the sugar colonies of France are not discouraged, like those of England, from refining their own sugar; and, what is of still greater importance, the genius of their government naturally introduces a better management of their negro slaves.

In all European colonies the culture of the sugar-cane is carried on by negro slaves. The constitution of those who have been born in the temperate climate of Europe could not, it is supposed, support the labour of digging the ground under the burning sun of the West Indies; and the culture of the sugar-cane, as it is managed at present, is all hand labour, though, in the opinion of many, the drill plough might be introduced into it with great advantage. But, as the profit and success of the cultivation which is carried on by means of cattle, depend very much upon the good management of those cattle; so the profit and success of that which is carried on by slaves, must depend equally upon the good management of those slaves; and in the good management of their slaves, the French planters, I think it is generally allowed, are superior to the English. The law, so far as it gives some weak protection to the slave against the violence of his master, is likely to be better executed in a colony where the government is in a great measure arbitrary, than in one where it is altogether free. In every country where the

the unfortunate law of ſlavery is eſtabliſhed, the magiſtrate, when he protects the ſlave, intermeddles in ſome meaſure in the management of the private property of the maſter; and, in a free country, where the maſter is perhaps either a member of the colony aſſembly, or an elector of ſuch a member, he dare not do this but with the greateſt caution and circumſpection. The reſpect which he is obliged to pay to the maſter, renders it more difficult for him to protect the ſlave. But in a country where the government is in a great meaſure arbitrary, where it is uſual for the magiſtrate to intermeddle even in the management of the private property of individuals, and to ſend them, perhaps, a lettre de cachet if they do not manage it according to his liking, it is much eaſier for him to give ſome protection to the ſlave; and common humanity naturally diſpoſes him to do ſo. The protection of the magiſtrate renders the ſlave leſs contemptible in the eyes of his maſter, who is thereby induced to conſider him with more regard, and to treat him with more gentleneſs. Gentle uſage renders the ſlave not only more faithful, but more intelligent, and therefore, upon a double account, more uſeful. He approaches more to the condition of a free ſervant, and may poſſeſs ſome degree of integrity and attachment to his maſter's intereſt, virtues which frequently belong to free ſervants, but which never can belong to a ſlave, who is treated as ſlaves commonly are in countries where the maſter is perfectly free and ſecure.

THAT the condition of a ſlave is better under an arbitrary than under a free government, is, I believe, ſupported by the hiſtory of all ages and nations. In the Roman hiſtory, the firſt time we read of the magiſtrate interpoſing to protect the ſlave from the violence of his maſter, is under the emperors. When Vedius Pollio, in the preſence of Auguſtus, ordered one

one of his ſlaves, who had committed a ſlight fault, to be cut into pieces and thrown into his fiſh pond in order to feed his fiſhes, the emperor commanded him, with indignation, to emancipate immediately, not only that ſlave, but all the others that belonged to him. Under the republic no magiſtrate could have had authority enough to protect the ſlave, much leſs to puniſh the maſter.

THE ſtock, it is to be obſerved, which has improved the ſugar colonies of France, particularly the great colony of St. Domingo, has been raiſed almoſt entirely from the gradual improvement and cultivation of thoſe colonies. It has been almoſt altogether the produce of the ſoil and of the induſtry of the coloniſts, or, what comes to the ſame thing, the price of that produce gradually accumulated by good management, and employed in raiſing a ſtill greater produce. But the ſtock which has improved and cultivated the ſugar colonies of England has, a great part of it, been ſent out from England, and has by no means been altogether the produce of the ſoil and induſtry of the coloniſts. The proſperity of the Engliſh ſugar colonies has been, in a great meaſure, owing to the great riches of England, of which a part has overflowed, if one may ſay ſo, upon thoſe colonies. But the proſperity of the ſugar colonies of France has been entirely owing to the good conduct of the coloniſts, which muſt therefore have had ſome ſuperiority over that of the Engliſh; and this ſuperiority has been remarked in nothing ſo much as in the good management of their ſlaves.

SUCH have been the general outlines of the policy of the different European nations with regard to their colonies.

THE policy of Europe, therefore, has very little to boaſt of, either in the original eſtabliſhment, or,

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ſo far as concerns their internal government, in the ſubſequent proſperity of the colonies of America.

FOLLY and injuſtice ſeem to have been the principles which preſided over and directed the firſt project of eſtabliſhing thoſe colonies; the folly of hunting after gold and ſilver mines, and the injuſtice of coveting the poſſeſſion of a country whoſe harmleſs natives, far from having ever injured the people of Europe, had received the firſt adventurers with every mark of kindneſs and hoſpitality.

THE adventurers, indeed, who formed ſome of the later eſtabliſhments, joined, to the chimerical project of finding gold and ſilver mines, other motives more reaſonable and more laudable; but even theſe motives do very little honour to the policy of Europe.

THE Engliſh puritans, reſtrained at home, fled for freedom to America, and eſtabliſhed there the four governments of New England. The Engliſh catholics, treated with much greater injuſtice, eſtabliſhed that of Maryland; the Quakers that of Pennſylvania. The Portugueſe Jews, perſecuted by the inquiſition, ſtript of their fortunes, and baniſhed to Brazil, introduced, by their example, ſome ſort of order and induſtry among the tranſported felons and ſtrumpets, by whom that colony was originally peopled, and taught them the culture of the ſugar-cane. Upon all theſe different occaſions it was, not the wiſdom and policy, but the diſorder and injuſtice of the European governments, which peopled and cultivated America.

IN effectuating ſome of the moſt important of theſe eſtabliſhments, the different governments of Europe had as little merit as in projecting them. The conqueſt of Mexico was the project, not of the council of Spain, but of a governor of Cuba; and it was effectuated by the ſpirit of the bold adventurer to whom it was entruſted, in ſpite of every thing which that governor, who ſoon repented of having truſted ſuch a perſon

perſon, could do to thwart it. The conquerors of Chili and Peru, and of almoſt all the other Spaniſh ſettlements upon the continent of America, carried out with them no other public encouragement, but a general permiſſion to make ſettlements and conqueſts in the name of the king of Spain. Thoſe adventures were all at the private riſk and expence of the adventurers. The government of Spain contributed ſcarce any thing to any of them. That of England contributed as little towards effectuating the eſtabliſhment of ſome of its moſt important colonies in North America.

When thoſe eſtabliſhments were effectuated, and had become ſo conſiderable as to attract the attention of the mother country, the firſt regulations which ſhe made with regard to them had always in view to ſecure to herſelf the monopoly of their commerce; to confine their market, and to enlarge her own at their expence, and, conſequently, rather to damp and diſcourage, than to quicken and forward the courſe of their proſperity. In the different ways in which this monopoly has been exerciſed, conſiſts one of the moſt eſſential differences in the policy of the different European nations with regard to their colonies. The beſt of them all, that of England, is only ſomewhat leſs illiberal and oppreſſive than that of any of the reſt.

In what way, therefore, has the policy of Europe contributed either to the firſt eſtabliſhment, or to the preſent grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way, and in one way only, it has contributed a good deal. *Magna virûm Mater!* It bred and formed the men who were capable of atchieving ſuch great actions, and of laying the foundation of ſo great an empire; and there is no other quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming, or has ever actually and in fact formed ſuch men. The colonies

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owe to the policy of Europe the education and great views of their active and enterprising founders; and some of the greatest and most important of them, so far as concerns their internal government, owe to it scarce any thing else.

PART THIRD.

Of the Advantages which Europe has derived from the Discovery of America, and from that of a Passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope.

SUCH are the advantages which the colonies of America have derived from the policy of Europe.

WHAT are those which Europe has derived from the discovery and colonization of America?

THOSE advantages may be divided, first, into the general advantages which Europe, considered as one great country, has derived from those great events; and, secondly, into the particular advantages which each colonizing country has derived from the colonies which particularly belong to it, in consequence of the authority or dominion which it exercises over them.

THE general advantages which Europe, considered as one great country, has derived from the discovery and colonization of America, consist, first, in the increase of its enjoyments; and, secondly, in the augmentation of its industry.

THE surplus produce of America, imported into Europe, furnishes the inhabitants of this great continent with a variety of commodities which they could not otherwise have possessed, some for conveniency and use, some for pleasure, and some for ornament, and thereby contributes to increase their enjoyments.

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THE discovery and colonization of America, it will readily be allowed, have contributed to augment the industry, first, of all the countries which trade to it directly; such as Spain, Portugal, France, and England; and, secondly, of all those which, without trading to it directly, send, through the medium of other countries, goods to it of their own produce; such as Austrian Flanders, and some provinces of Germany, which, through the medium of the countries before mentioned, send to it a considerable quantity of linen and other goods. All such countries have evidently gained a more extensive market for their surplus produce, and must consequently have been encouraged to increase its quantity.

BUT, that those great events should likewise have contributed to encourage the industry of countries, such as Hungary and Poland, which may never, perhaps, have sent a single commodity of their own produce to America, is not, perhaps, altogether so evident. That those events have done so, however, cannot be doubted. Some part of the produce of America is consumed in Hungary and Poland, and there is some demand there for the sugar, chocolate, and tobacco of that new quarter of the world. But those commodities must be purchased with something which is either the produce of the industry of Hungary and Poland, or with something which had been purchased with some part of that produce. Those commodities of America are new values, new equivalents, introduced into Hungary and Poland to be exchanged there for the surplus produce of those countries. By being carried thither they create a new and more extensive market for that surplus produce. They raise its value, and thereby contribute to encourage its increase. Though no part of it may ever be carried to America, it may be carried to other countries which purchase it with a part of their share of the surplus

produce of America; and it may find a market by means of the circulation of that trade which was originally put into motion by the surplus produce of America.

THOSE great events may even have contributed to increase the enjoyments, and to augment the industry of countries which, not only never sent any commodities to America, but never received any from it. Even such countries may have received a greater abundance of other commodities from countries of which the surplus produce had been augmented by means of the American trade. This greater abundance, as it must necessarily have increased their enjoyments, so it must likewise have augmented their industry. A greater number of new equivalents of some kind or other must have been presented to them to be exchanged for the surplus produce of that industry. A more extensive market must have been created for that surplus produce, so as to raise its value, and thereby encourage its increase. The mass of commodities annually thrown into the great circle of European commerce, and by its various revolutions annually distributed among all the different nations comprehended within it, must have been augmented by the whole surplus produce of America. A greater share of this greater mass, therefore, is likely to have fallen to each of those nations, to have increased their enjoyments, and augmented their industry.

THE exclusive trade of the mother countries tends to diminish, or, at least, to keep down below what they would otherwise rise to, both the enjoyments and industry of all those nations in general, and of the American colonies in particular. It is a dead weight upon the action of one of the great springs which puts into motion a great part of the business of mankind. By rendering the colony produce dearer in all other countries, it lessens its consumption,

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and thereby cramps the induſtry of the colonies, and both the enjoyments and the induſtry of all other countries, which both enjoy leſs when they pay more for what they enjoy, and produce leſs when they get leſs for what they produce. By rendering the produce of all other countries dearer in the colonies, it cramps, in the ſame manner, the induſtry of all other countries, and both the enjoyments and the induſtry of the colonies. It is a clog which, for the ſuppoſed benefit of ſome particular countries, embarraſſes the pleaſures, and encumbers the induſtry of all other countries; but of the colonies more than of any other. It not only excludes, as much as poſſible, all other countries from one particular market; but it confines, as much as poſſible, the colonies to one particular market; and the difference is very great between being excluded from one particular market, when all others are open, and being confined to one particular market, when all others are ſhut up. The ſurplus produce of the colonies, however, is the original ſource of all that increaſe of enjoyments and induſtry which Europe derives from the diſcovery and colonization of America; and the excluſive trade of the mother countries tends to render this ſource much leſs abundant than it otherwiſe would be.

THE particular advantages which each colonizing country derives from the colonies which particularly belong to it, are of two different kinds; firſt, thoſe common advantages which every empire derives from the provinces ſubject to its dominion; and ſecondly, thoſe peculiar advantages which are ſuppoſed to reſult from provinces of ſo very peculiar a nature as the European colonies of America.

THE common advantages which every empire derives from the provinces ſubject to its dominion, conſiſt, firſt, in the military force which they furniſh for

for its defence; and, fecondly, in the revenue which they furnifh for the fupport of its civil government. The Roman colonies furnifhed occafionally both the one and the other. The Greek colonies, fometimes, furnifhed a military force; but feldom any revenue. They feldom acknowledged themfelves fubject to the dominion of the mother city. They were generally her allies in war, but very feldom her fubjects in peace.

THE European colonies of America have never yet furnifhed any military force for the defence of the mother country. Their military force has never yet been fufficient for their own defence; and in the different wars in which the mother countries have been engaged, the defence of their colonies has generally occafioned a very confiderable diftraction of the military force of thofe countries. In this refpect, therefore, all the European colonies have, without exception, been a caufe rather of weaknefs than of ftrength to their refpective mother countries.

THE colonies of Spain and Portugal only have contributed any revenue towards the defence of the mother country, or the fupport of her civil government. The taxes which have been levied upon thofe of other European nations, upon thofe of England in particular, have feldom been equal to the expence laid out upon them in time of peace, and never fufficient to defray that which they occafioned in time of war. Such colonies, therefore, have been a fource of expence and not of revenue to their refpective mother countries.

THE advantages of fuch colonies to their refpective mother countries, conift altogether in thofe peculiar advantages which are fuppofed to refult from provinces of fo very peculiar a nature as the European colonies of America; and the exclufive trade, it

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is acknowledged, is the ſole ſource of all thoſe peculiar advantages.

In conſequence of this excluſive trade, all that part of the ſurplus produce of the Engliſh colonies, for example, which conſiſts in what are called enumerated commodities, can be ſent to no other country but England. Other countries muſt afterwards buy it of her. It muſt be cheaper therefore in England than it can be in any other country, and muſt contribute more to increaſe the enjoyments of England, than thoſe of any other country. It muſt likewiſe contribute more to encourage her induſtry. For all thoſe parts of her own ſurplus produce which England exchanges for thoſe enumerated commodities, ſhe muſt get a better price than any other countries can get for the like parts of theirs, when they exchange them for the ſame commodities. The manufactures of England, for example, will purchaſe a greater quantity of the ſugar and tobacco of her own colonies, than the like manufactures of other countries can purchaſe of that ſugar and tobacco. So far, therefore, as the manufactures of England and thoſe of other countries are both to be exchanged for the ſugar and tobacco of the Engliſh colonies, this ſuperiority of price gives an encouragement to the former, beyond what the latter can in theſe circumſtances enjoy. The excluſive trade of the colonies, therefore, as it diminiſhes, or, at leaſt, keeps down below what they would otherwiſe riſe to, both the enjoyments and the induſtry of the countries which do not poſſeſs it; ſo it gives an evident advantage to the countries which do poſſeſs it over thoſe other countries.

This advantage, however, will, perhaps, be found to be rather what may be called a relative than an abſolute advantage; and to give a ſuperiority to the country which enjoys it, rather by depreſſing the in-

duſtry and produce of other countries, than by raiſing thoſe of that particular country above what they would naturally riſe to in the caſe of a free trade.

THE tobacco of Maryland and Virginia, for example, by means of the monopoly which England enjoys of it, certainly comes cheaper to England than it can do to France, to whom England commonly ſells a conſiderable part of it. But had France, and all other European countries been, at all times, allowed a free trade to Maryland and Virginia, the tobacco of thoſe colonies might, by this time, have come cheaper than it actually does, not only to all thoſe other countries, but likewiſe to England. The produce of tobacco, in conſequence of a market ſo much more extenſive than any which it has hitherto enjoyed, might, and probably would, by this time, have been ſo much increaſed as to reduce the profits of a tobacco plantation to their natural level with thoſe of a corn plantation, which, it is ſuppoſed, they are ſtill ſomewhat above. The price of tobacco might, and probably would, by this time, have fallen ſomewhat lower than it is at preſent. An equal quantity of the commodities either of England, or of thoſe other countries, might have purchaſed in Maryland and Virginia a greater quantity of tobacco than it can do at preſent, and, conſequently, have been ſold there for ſo much a better price. So far as that weed, therefore, can, by its cheapneſs and abundance, increaſe the enjoyments or augment the induſtry either of England or of any other country, it would, probably, in the caſe of a free trade, have produced both theſe effects in ſomewhat a greater degree than it can do at preſent. England, indeed, would not in this caſe have had any advantage over other countries. She might have bought the tobacco of her colonies ſomewhat cheaper, and, conſequently, have ſold ſome of her own commodities

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ſomewhat dearer than ſhe actually does. But ſhe could neither have bought the one cheaper nor ſold the other dearer than any other country might have done. She might, perhaps, have gained an abſolute, but ſhe would certainly have loſt a relative advantage.

In order, however, to obtain this relative advantage in the colony trade, in order to execute the invidious and malignant project of excluding as much as poſſible other nations from any ſhare in it, England, there are very probable reaſons for believing, has not only ſacrificed a part of the abſolute advantage which ſhe, as well as every other nation, might have derived from that trade, but has ſubjected herſelf both to an abſolute and to a relative diſadvantage in almoſt every other branch of trade.

When, by the act of navigation, England aſſumed to herſelf the monopoly of the colony trade, the foreign capitals which had before been employed in it were neceſſarily withdrawn from it. The Engliſh capital, which had before carried on but a part of it, was now to carry on the whole. The capital which had before ſupplied the colonies with but a part of the goods which they wanted from Europe, was now all that was employed to ſupply them with the whole. But it could not ſupply them with the whole, and the goods with which it did ſupply them were neceſſarily ſold very dear. The capital which had before bought but a part of the ſurplus produce of the colonies, was now all that was employed to buy the whole. But it could not buy the whole at any thing near the old price, and, therefore, whatever it did buy it neceſſarily bought very cheap. But in an employment of capital in which the merchant ſold very dear and bought very cheap, the profit muſt have been very great, and much above the ordinary level of profit in other branches of trade. This ſuperiority

ty of profit in the colony trade could not fail to draw from other branches of trade a part of the capital which had before been employed in them. But this revulsion of capital, as it must have gradually increased the competition of capitals in the colony trade, so it must have gradually diminished that competition in all those other branches of trade; as it must have gradually lowered the profits of the one, so it must have gradually raised those of the other, till the profits of all came to a new level, different from and somewhat higher than that at which they had been before.

THIS double effect, of drawing capital from all other trades, and of raising the rate of profit somewhat higher than it otherwise would have been in all trades, was not only produced by this monopoly upon its first establishment, but has continued to be produced by it ever since.

FIRST, this monopoly has been continually drawing capital from all other trades to be employed in that of the colonies.

THOUGH the wealth of Great Britain has increased very much since the establishment of the act of navigation, it certainly has not increased in the same proportion as that of the colonies. But the foreign trade of every country naturally increases in proportion to its wealth, its surplus produce in proportion to its whole produce; and Great Britain having engrossed to herself almost the whole of what may be called the foreign trade of the colonies, and her capital not having increased in the same proportion as the extent of that trade, she could not carry it on without continually withdrawing from other branches of trade some part of the capital which had before been employed in them, as well as withholding from them a great deal more which would otherwise have gone to them. Since the establishment of the

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act of navigation, accordingly, the colony trade has been continually increasing, while many other branches of foreign trade, particularly of that to other parts of Europe, have been continually decaying. Our manufactures for foreign sale, instead of being suited, as before the act of navigation, to the neighbouring market of Europe, or to the more distant one of the countries which lie round the Mediterranean sea, have, the greater part of them, been accommodated to the still more distant one of the colonies, to the market in which they have the monopoly, rather than to that in which they have many competitors. The causes of decay in other branches of foreign trade, which, by Sir Matthew Decker and other writers, have been sought for in the excess and improper mode of taxation, in the high price of labour, in the increase of luxury, &c. may all be found in the overgrowth of the colony trade. The mercantile capital of Great Britain, though very great, yet not being infinite; and though greatly increased since the act of navigation, yet not being increased in the same proportion as the colony trade, that trade could not possibly be carried on without withdrawing some part of that capital from other branches of trade, nor consequently without some decay of those other branches.

\\ ENGLAND, it must be observed, was a great trading country, her mercantile capital was very great and likely to become still greater and greater every day, not only before the act of navigation had established the monopoly of the colony trade, but before that trade was very considerable. In the Dutch war, during the government of Cromwel, her navy was superior to that of Holland; and in that which broke out in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. it was at least equal, perhaps superior, to the united navies of France and Holland. Its superiority, perhaps, would

scarce

ſcarce appear greater in the preſent times; at leaſt if the Dutch navy was to bear the ſame proportion to the Dutch commerce now which it did then. But this great naval power could not, in either of thoſe wars, be owing to the act of navigation. During the firſt of them the plan of that act had been but juſt formed; and though before the breaking out of the ſecond it had been fully enacted by legal authority; yet no part of it could have had time to produce any conſiderable effect, and leaſt of all that part which eſtabliſhed the excluſive trade to the colonies. Both the colonies and their trade were inconſiderable then in compariſon of what they are now. The iſland of Jamaica was an unwholeſome deſert, little inhabited, and leſs cultivated. New York and New Jerſey were in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch: the half of St. Chriſtopher's in that of the French. The iſland of Antigua, the two Carolinas, Penſylvania, Georgia, and Nova Scotia, were not planted. Virginia, Maryland, and New England were planted; and though they were very thriving colonies, yet there was not, perhaps, at that time, either in Europe or America, a ſingle perſon who foreſaw or even ſuſpected the rapid progreſs which they have ſince made in wealth, population and improvement. The iſland of Barbadoes, in ſhort, was the only Britiſh colony of any conſequence of which the condition at that time bore any reſemblance to what it is at preſent. The trade of the colonies, of which England, even for ſome time after the act of navigation, enjoyed but a part (for the act of navigation was not very ſtrictly executed till ſeveral years after it was enacted), could not at that time be the cauſe of the great trade of England, nor of the great naval power which was ſupported by that trade. The trade which at that time ſupported that great naval power was the trade of Europe, and of the countries which lie round the Mediterranean

ſea.

ſea. But the ſhare which Great Britain at preſent enjoys of that trade could not ſupport any ſuch great naval power. Had the growing trade of the colonies been left free to all nations, whatever ſhare of it might have fallen to Great Britain, and a very conſiderable ſhare would probably have fallen to her, muſt have been all an addition to this great trade of which ſhe was before in poſſeſſion. In conſequence of the monopoly, the increaſe of the colony trade has not ſo much occaſioned an addition to the trade which Great Britain had before, as a total change in its direction.

SECONDLY, this monopoly has neceſſarily contributed to keep up the rate of profit in all the different branches of Britiſh trade higher than it naturally would have been, had all nations been allowed a free trade to the Britiſh colonies.

THE monopoly of the colony trade, as it neceſſarily drew towards that trade a greater proportion of the capital of Great Britain than what would have gone to it of its own accord; ſo by the expulſion of all foreign capitals it neceſſarily reduced the whole quantity of capital employed in that trade below what it naturally would have been in the caſe of a free trade. But, by leſſening the competition of capitals in that branch of trade, it neceſſarily raiſed the rate of profit in that branch. By leſſening too the competition of Britiſh capitals in all other branches of trade, it neceſſarily raiſed the rate of Britiſh profit in all thoſe other branches. Whatever may have been, at any particular period, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the act of navigation, the ſtate or extent of the mercantile capital of Great Britain, the monopoly of the colony trade muſt, during the continuance of that ſtate, have raiſed the ordinary rate of Britiſh profit higher than it otherwiſe would have been both in that and in all the other branches of Britiſh trade. If, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the act of navigation, the ordinary

rate

rate of Britiſh profit has fallen conſiderably, as it certainly has, it muſt have fallen ſtill lower, had not the monopoly eſtabliſhed by that act contributed to keep it up.

BUT whatever raiſes in any country the ordinary rate of profit higher than it otherwiſe would be, neceſſarily ſubjects that country both to an abſolute and to a relative diſadvantage in every branch of trade of which ſhe has not the monopoly.

IT ſubjects her to an abſolute diſadvantage: becauſe in ſuch branches of trade her merchants cannot get this greater profit, without ſelling dearer than they otherwiſe would do both the goods of foreign countries which they import into their own, and the goods of their own country which they export to foreign countries. Their own country muſt both buy dearer and ſell dearer; muſt both buy leſs and ſell leſs; muſt both enjoy leſs and produce leſs, than ſhe otherwiſe would do.

IT ſubjects her to a relative diſadvantage; becauſe in ſuch branches of trade it ſets other countries which are not ſubject to the ſame abſolute diſadvantage, either more above her or leſs below her than they otherwiſe would be. It enables them both to enjoy more and to produce more in proportion to what ſhe enjoys and produces. It renders their ſuperiority greater or their inferiority leſs than it otherwiſe would be. By raiſing the price of her produce above what it otherwiſe would be, it enables the merchants of other countries to underſell her in foreign markets, and thereby to juſtle her out of almoſt all thoſe branches of trade, of which ſhe has not the monopoly.

OUR merchants frequently complain of the high wages of Britiſh labour as the cauſe of their manufactures being underſold in foreign markets; but they are ſilent about the high profits of ſtock. They complain of the extravagant gain of other people; but they ſay

nothing

nothing of their own. The high profits of British ſtock, however, may contribute towards raiſing the price of British manufactures in many caſes as much, and in ſome perhaps more, than the high wages of British labour.

It is in this manner that the capital of Great Britain, one may juſtly ſay, has partly been drawn and partly been driven from the greater part of the different branches of trade of which ſhe has not the monopoly; from the trade of Europe in particular, and from that of the countries which lie round the Mediterranean ſea.

It has partly been drawn from thoſe branches of trade; by the attraction of ſuperior profit in the colony trade in conſequence of the continual increaſe of that trade, and of the continual inſufficiency of the capital which had carried it on one year to carry it on the next.

It has partly been driven from them; by the advantage which the high rate of profit, eſtabliſhed in Great Britain, gives to other countries, in all the different branches of trade of which Great Britain has not the monopoly.

As the monopoly of the colony trade has drawn from thoſe other branches a part of the British capital which would otherwiſe have been employed in them, ſo it has forced into them many foreign capitals which would never have gone to them, had they not been expelled from the colony trade. In thoſe other branches of trade it has diminiſhed the competition of British capitals, and thereby raiſed the rate of British profit higher than it otherwiſe would have been. On the contrary, it has increaſed the competition of foreign capitals, and thereby ſunk the rate of foreign profit lower than it otherwiſe would have been. Both in the one way and in the other it muſt evidently have

ſubjected Great Britain to a relative diſadvantage in all thoſe other branches of trade.

The colony trade, however, it may perhaps be ſaid, is more advantageous to Great Britain than any other; and the monopoly, by forcing into that trade a greater proportion of the capital of Great Britain than what would otherwiſe have gone to it, has turned that capital into an employment more advantageous to the country than any other which it could have found.

THE moſt advantageous employment of any capital to the country to which it belongs, is that which maintains there the greateſt quantity of productive labour, and increaſes the moſt the annual produce of the land and labour of that country. But the quantity of productive labour which any capital employed in the foreign trade of conſumption, can maintain, is exactly in proportion, it has been ſhewn in the ſecond book, to the frequency of its returns. A capital of a thouſand pounds, employed in a foreign trade of conſumption, of which the returns are made regularly once in the year, can keep in conſtant employment, in the country to which it belongs, a quantity of productive labour equal to what a thouſand pounds can maintain there for a year. If the returns are made twice or thrice in the year, it can keep in conſtant employment a quantity of productive labour equal to what two or three thouſand pounds can maintain there for a year. A foreign trade of conſumption carried on with a neighbouring, is, upon this account, in general, more advantageous than one carried on with a diſtant country; and for the ſame reaſon a direct foreign trade of conſumption, as it has likewiſe been ſhewn in the ſecond book, is in general more advantageous than a round-about one.

BUT the monopoly of the colony trade, ſo far as it has operated upon the employment of the capital of

of Great Britain, has in all cafes forced fome part of it from a foreign trade of conſumption carried on with a neighbouring, to one carried on with a more diſtant country, and in many cafes from a direct foreign trade of conſumption to a round-about one.

FIRST, the monopoly of the colony trade has in all cafes forced ſome part of the capital of Great Britain from a foreign trade of conſumption carried on with a neighbouring, to one carried on with a more diſtant country.

IT has, in all cafes, forced ſome part of that capital from the trade with Europe, and with the countries which lie round the Mediterranean ſea, to that with the more diſtant regions of America and the Weſt Indies, from which the returns are neceſſarily leſs frequent, not only on account of the greater diſtance, but on account of the peculiar circumſtances of thoſe countries. New colonies, it has already been obſerved, are always underſtocked. Their capital is always much leſs than what they could employ with great profit and advantage in the improvement and cultivation of their land. They have a conſtant demand, therefore, for more capital than they have of their own; and, in order to ſupply the deficiency of their own, they endeavour to borrow as much as they can of the mother country, to whom they are, therefore, always in debt. The moſt common way in which the coloniſts contract this debt, is not by borrowing upon bond of the rich people of the mother country, though they ſometimes do this too, but by running as much in arrear to their correſpondents, who ſupply them with goods from Europe, as thoſe correſpondents will allow them. Their annual returns frequently do not amount to more than a third, and ſometimes not to ſo great a proportion of what they owe. The whole capital, therefore, which their correſpondents advance to them is ſeldom returned

to

to Britain in leſs than three, and ſometimes not in leſs than four or five years. But a Britiſh capital, of a thouſand pounds, for example, which is returned to Great Britain only once in five years, can keep in conſtant employment only one-fifth part of the Britiſh induſtry which it could maintain if the whole was returned once in the year; and, inſtead of the quantity of induſtry which a thouſand pounds could maintain for a year, can keep in conſtant employment the quantity only which two hundred pounds can maintain for a year. The planter, no doubt, by the high price which he pays for the goods from Europe, by the intereſt upon the bills which he grants at diſtant dates, and by the commiſſion upon the renewal of thoſe which he grants at near dates, makes up, and probably more than makes up, all the loſs which his correſpondent can ſuſtain by this delay. But, tho' he may make up the loſs of his correſpondent, he cannot make up that of Great Britain. In a trade of which the returns are very diſtant, the profit of the merchant may be as great or greater than in one in which they are very frequent or near; but the advantage of the country in which he reſides, the quantity of productive labour conſtantly maintained there, the annual produce of the land and labour muſt always be much leſs. That the returns of the trade to America, and ſtill more thoſe of that to the Weſt Indies, are, in general, not only more diſtant, but more irregular, and more uncertain too, than thoſe of the trade to any part of Europe, or even of the countries which lie round the Mediterranean ſea, will readily be allowed, I imagine, by every body who has any experience of thoſe different branches of trade.

SECONDLY, the monopoly of the colony trade has, in many caſes, forced ſome part of the capital of Great Britain from a direct foreign trade of conſumption, into a round-about one.

AMONG

Among the enumerated commodities which can be ſent to no other market but Great Britain, there are ſeveral of which the quantity exceeds very much the conſumption of Great Britain, and of which a part, therefore, muſt be exported to other countries. But this cannot be done without forcing ſome part of the capital of Great Britain into a round-about foreign trade of conſumption. Maryland and Virginia, for example, ſend annually to Great Britain upwards of ninety-ſix thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, and the conſumption of Great Britain is ſaid not to exceed fourteen thouſand. Upwards of eighty-two thouſand hogſheads, therefore, muſt be exported to other countries, to France, to Holland, and to the countries which lie around the Baltic and Mediterranean ſeas. But, that part of the capital of Great Britain which brings thoſe eighty-two thouſand hogſheads to Great Britain, which re-exports them from thence to thoſe other countries, and which brings back from thoſe other countries to Great Britain either goods or money in return, is employed in a round-about foreign trade of conſumption; and is neceſſarily forced into this employment in order to diſpoſe of this great ſurplus. If we would compute in how many years the whole of this capital is likely to come back to Great Britain, we muſt add to the diſtance of the American returns that of the returns from thoſe other countries. If, in the direct foreign trade of conſumption which we carry on with America, the whole capital employed frequently does not come back in leſs than three or four years; the whole capital employed in this round-about one is not likely to come back in leſs than four or five. If the one can keep in conſtant employment but a third or a fourth part of the domeſtic induſtry which could be maintained by a capital returned once in the year, the other can keep in conſtant employment but a

fourth or a fifth part of that industry. At some of the out-ports a credit is commonly given to those foreign correspondents to whom they export their tobacco. At the port of London, indeed, it is commonly sold for ready money. The rule is, *Weigh and pay*. At the port of London, therefore, the final returns of the whole round-about trade are more distant than the returns from America by the time only which the goods may lie unsold in the warehouse; where, however, they may sometimes lie long enough. But, had not the colonies been confined to the market of Great Britain for the sale of their tobacco, very little more of it would probably have come to us than what was necessary for the home consumption. The goods which Great Britain purchases at present for her own consumption with the great surplus of tobacco which she exports to other countries, she would, in this case, probably have purchased with the immediate produce of her own industry, or with some part of her own manufactures. That produce, those manufactures, instead of being almost entirely suited to one great market, as at present, would probably have been fitted to a greater number of smaller markets. Instead of one great round-about foreign trade of consumption, Great Britain would probably have carried on a great number of small direct foreign trades of the same kind. On account of the frequency of the returns, a part, and, probably, but a small part; perhaps not above a third or a fourth, of the capital which at present carries on this great round-about trade, might have been sufficient to carry on all those small direct ones, might have kept in constant employment an equal quantity of British industry, and have equally supported the annual produce of the land and labour of Great Britain. All the purposes of this trade being, in this manner, answered by a much smaller

capital,

capital, there would have been a large ſpare capital to apply to other purpoſes; to improve the lands, to increaſe the manufactures, and to extend the commerce of Great Britain; to come into competition at leaſt with the other Britiſh capitals employed in all thoſe different ways, to reduce the rate of profit in them all, and thereby to give to Great Britain, in all of them, a ſuperiority over other countries ſtill greater than what ſhe at preſent enjoys.

THE monopoly of the colony trade too has forced ſome part of the capital of Great Britain from all foreign trade of conſumption to a carrying trade; and, conſequently, from ſupporting more or leſs the induſtry of Great Britain, to be employed altogether in ſupporting partly that of the colonies, and partly that of ſome other countries.

THE goods, for example, which are annually purchaſed with the great ſurplus of eighty-two thouſand hogſheads of tobacco annually re-exported from Great Britain, are not all conſumed in Great Britain. Part of them, linen from Germany and Holland, for example, is returned to the colonies for their particular conſumption. But, that part of the capital of Great Britain which buys the tobacco with which this linen is afterwards bought, is neceſſarily withdrawn from ſupporting the induſtry of Great Britain, to be employed altogether in ſupporting, partly that of the colonies, and partly that of the particular countries who pay for this tobacco with the produce of their own induſtry.

THE monopoly of the colony trade beſides, by forcing towards it a much greater proportion of the capital of Great Britain than what would naturally have gone to it, ſeems to have broken altogether that natural balance which would otherwiſe have taken place among all the different branches of Britiſh induſtry. The induſtry of Great Britain, inſtead of being

being accommodated to a great number of ſmall markets, has been principally ſuited to one great market. Her commerce, inſtead of running in a great number of ſmall channels, has been taught to run principally in one great channel. But the whole ſyſtem of her induſtry and commerce has thereby been rendered leſs ſecure; the whole ſtate of her body politic leſs healthful, than it otherwiſe would have been. In her preſent condition, Great Britain reſembles one of thoſe unwholeſome bodies in which ſome of the vital parts are overgrown, and which, upon that account, are liable to many dangerous diſorders ſcarce incident to thoſe in which all the parts are more properly proportioned. A ſmall ſtop in that great blood-veſſel, which has been artificially ſwelled beyond its natural dimenſions, and through which an unnatural proportion of the induſtry and commerce of the country has been forced to circulate, is very likely to bring on the moſt dangerous diſorders upon the whole body politic. The expectation of a rupture with the colonies, accordingly, has ſtruck the people of Great Britain with more terror than they ever felt for a Spaniſh armada, or a French invaſion. It was this terror, whether well or ill grounded, which rendered the repeal of the ſtamp act, among the merchants at leaſt, a popular meaſure. In the total excluſion from the colony market, was it to laſt only for a few years, the greater part of our merchants uſed to fancy that they foreſaw an entire ſtop to their trade; the greater part of our maſter manufacturers, the entire ruin of their buſineſs; and the greater part of our workmen, an end of their employment. A rupture with any of our neighbours upon the continent, though likely too to occaſion ſome ſtop or interruption in the employments of ſome of all theſe different orders of people, is foreſeen, however, without any ſuch general emotion. The

blood,

blood, of which the circulation is ſtopt in ſome of the ſmaller veſſels, eaſily diſgorges itſelf into the greater, without occaſioning any dangerous diſorder; but, when it is ſtopt in any of the greater veſſels, convulſions, apoplexy, or death, are the immediate and unavoidable conſequences. If but one of thoſe overgrown manufactures, which by means either of bounties or of the monopoly of the home and colony markets, have been artificially raiſed up to an unnatural height, finds ſome ſmall ſtop or interruption in its employment, it frequently occaſions a mutiny and diſorder alarming to government, and embarraſſing even to the deliberations of the legiſlature. How great, therefore, would be the diſorder and confuſion, it was thought, which muſt neceſſarily be occaſioned by a ſudden and entire ſtop in the employment of ſo great a proportion of our principal manufacturers?

SOME moderate and gradual relaxation of the laws which give to Great Britain the excluſive trade to the colonies, till it is rendered in a great meaſure free, ſeems to be the only expedient which can, in all future times, deliver her from this danger, which can enable her or even force her to withdraw ſome part of her capital from this overgrown employment, and to turn it, though with leſs profit, towards other employments; and which, by gradually diminiſhing one branch of her induſtry and gradually increaſing all the reſt, can by degrees reſtore all the different branches of it to that natural, healthful, and proper proportion which perfect liberty neceſſarily eſtabliſhes, and which perfect liberty can alone preſerve. To open the colony trade all at once to all nations, might not only occaſion ſome tranſitory inconveniency, but a great permanent loſs to the greater part of thoſe whoſe induſtry or capital is at preſent engaged in it. The ſudden loſs of the employment even of the ſhips which import the eighty-two thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, which

which are over and above the consumption of Great Britain, might alone be felt very sensibly. Such are the unfortunate effects of all the regulations of the mercantile system! They not only introduce very dangerous disorders into the state of the body politic, but disorders which it is often difficult to remedy, without occasioning, for a time at least, still greater disorders. In what manner, therefore, the colony trade ought gradually to be opened; what are the restraints which ought first, and what are those which ought last to be taken away; or in what manner the natural system of perfect liberty and justice ought gradually to be restored, we must leave to the wisdom of future statesmen and legislators to determine.

FIVE different events, unforeseen and unthought of, have very fortunately concurred to hinder Great Britain from feeling, so sensibly as it was generally expected she would, the total exclusion which has now taken place for more than a year (from the first of December, 1774) from a very important branch of the colony trade, that of the twelve associated provinces of North America. First, those colonies, in preparing themselves for their non-importation agreement, drained Great Britain completely of all the commodities which were fit for their market: secondly, the extraordinary demand of the Spanish Flota has, this year, drained Germany and the North of many commodities, linen in particular, which used to come into competition, even in the British market, with the manufactures of Great Britain: thirdly, the peace between Russia and Turkey has occasioned an extraordinary demand from the Turkey market, which, during the distress of the country, and while a Russian fleet was cruizing in the Archipelago, had been very poorly supplied: fourthly, the demand of the North of Europe for the manufactures of Great Britain, has been increasing from year to year for some

time

time paſt: and, fifthly, the late partition and conſequential pacification of Poland, by opening the market of that great country, have this year added an extraordinary demand from thence to the increaſing demand of the North. Theſe events are all, except the fourth, in their nature tranſitory and accidental, and the excluſion from ſo important a branch of the colony trade, if unfortunately it ſhould continue much longer, may ſtill occaſion ſome degree of diſtreſs.—This diſtreſs, however, as it will come on gradually, will be felt much leſs ſeverely than if it had come on all at once; and, in the mean time, the induſtry and capital of the country may find a new employment and direction, ſo as to prevent this diſtreſs from ever riſing to any conſiderable height.

THE monopoly of the colony trade, therefore, ſo far as it has turned towards that trade a greater proportion of the capital of Great Britain than what would otherwiſe have gone to it, has in all caſes turned it, from a foreign trade of conſumption with a neighbouring, into one with a more diſtant country; in many caſes, from a direct foreign trade of conſumption, into a round-about one; and in ſome caſes, from all foreign trade of conſumption, into a carrying trade. It has in all caſes, therefore, turned it, from a direction in which it would have maintained a greater quantity of productive labour, into one, in which it can maintain a much ſmaller quantity. By ſuiting, beſides, to one particular market only, ſo great a part of the induſtry and commerce of Great Britain, it has rendered the whole ſtate of that induſtry and commerce more precarious and leſs ſecure, than if their produce had been accommodated to a greater variety of markets.

WE muſt carefully diſtinguiſh between the effects of the colony trade, and thoſe of the monopoly of that trade. The former are always and neceſſarily beneficial;

beneficial; the latter always and neceſſarily hurtful. But the former are ſo beneficial, that the colony trade, though ſubject to a monopoly, and notwithſtanding the hurtful effects of that monopoly, is ſtill upon the whole beneficial, and greatly beneficial; though a good deal leſs ſo than it otherwiſe would be.

THE effect of the colony trade in its natural and free ſtate, is to open a great, though diſtant market for ſuch parts of the produce of Britiſh induſtry as may exceed the demand of the markets nearer home, of thoſe of Europe, and of the countries which lie round the Mediterranean ſea. In its natural and free ſtate, the colony trade, without drawing from thoſe markets any part of the produce which had ever been ſent to them, encourages Great Britain to increaſe the ſurplus continually, by continually preſenting new equivalents to be exchanged for it. In its natural and free ſtate, the colony trade tends to increaſe the quantity of productive labour in Great Britain, but without altering in any reſpect the direction of that which had been employed there before. In the natural and free ſtate of the colony trade, the competition of all other nations would hinder the rate of profit from riſing above the common level either in the new market, or in the new employment. The new market, without drawing any thing from the old one, would create, if one may ſay ſo, a new produce for its own ſupply; and that new produce would conſtitute a new capital for carrying on the new employment, which in the ſame manner would draw nothing from the old one.

THE monopoly of the colony trade, on the contrary, by excluding the competition of other nations, and thereby raiſing the rate of profit both in the new market and in the new employment, draws produce from the old market and capital from the old employment. To augment our ſhare of the colony trade beyond

beyond what it otherwiſe would be, is the avowed purpoſe of the monopoly. If our ſhare of that trade were to be no greater with, than it would have been without the monopoly, there could have been no reaſon for eſtabliſhing the monopoly. But whatever forces into a branch of trade of which the returns are ſlower and more diſtant than thoſe of the greater part of other trades, a greater proportion of the capital of any country, than what of its own accord would go to that branch, neceſſarily renders the whole quantity of productive labour annually maintained there, the whole annual produce of the land and labour of that country leſs than they otherwiſe would be. It keeps down the revenue of the inhabitants of that country, below what it would naturally riſe to, and thereby diminiſhes their power of accumulation. It not only hinders, at all times, their capital from maintaining ſo great a quantity of productive labour as it would otherwiſe maintain, but it hinders it from increaſing ſo faſt as it would otherwiſe increaſe, and conſequently from maintaining a ſtill greater quantity of productive labour.

THE natural good effects of the colony trade, however, more than counterbalance to Great Britain the bad effects of the monopoly, ſo that, monopoly and altogether, that trade, even as it is carried on at preſent, is not only advantageous, but greatly advantageous. The new market and the new employment which are opened by the colony trade, are of much greater extent than that portion of the old market and of the old employment which is loſt by the monopoly. The new produce and the new capital which has been created, if one may ſay ſo, by the colony trade, maintain in Great Britain a greater quantity of productive labour, than what can have been thrown out of employment by the revulſion of capital from other trades of which the returns are more

frequent. If the colony trade, however, even as it is carried on at preſent, is advantageous to Great Britain, it is not by means of the monopoly, but in ſpite of the monopoly.

IT is rather for the manufactured than for the rude produce of Europe, that the colony trade opens a new market. Agriculture is the proper buſineſs of all new colonies; a buſineſs which the cheapneſs of land renders more advantageous than any other. They abound, therefore, in the rude produce of land, and, inſtead of importing it from other countries, they have generally a large ſurplus to export. In new colonies, agriculture either draws hands from all other employments, or keeps them from going to any other employment. There are few hands to ſpare for the neceſſary, and none for the ornamental manufactures. The greater part of the manufactures of both kinds, they find it cheaper to purchaſe of other countries than to make for themſelves. It is chiefly by encouraging the manufactures of Europe, that the colony trade indirectly encourages its agriculture. The manufacturers of Europe, to whom that trade gives employment, conſtitute a new market for the produce of the land; and the moſt advantageous of all markets; the home market for the corn and cattle, for the bread and butcher's-meat of Europe; is thus greatly extended by means of the trade to America.

BUT that the monopoly of the trade of populous and thriving colonies is not alone ſufficient to eſtabliſh, or even to maintain manufactures in any country, the examples of Spain and Portugal ſufficiently demonſtrate. Spain and Portugal were manufacturing countries before they had any conſiderable colonies. Since they had the richeſt and moſt fertile in the world, they have both ceaſed to be ſo.

IN Spain and Portugal, the bad effects of the monopoly,

nopoly, aggravated by other causes, have, perhaps, nearly overbalanced the natural good effects of the colony trade. These causes seem to be, other monopolies of different kinds; the degradation of the value of gold and silver below what it is in most other countries; the exclusion from foreign markets by improper taxes upon exportation, and the narrowing of the home market, by still more improper taxes upon the transportation of goods from one part of the country to another; but above all, that irregular and partial administration of justice, which often protects the rich and powerful debtor from the pursuit of his injured creditor, and which makes the industrious part of the nation afraid to prepare goods for the consumption of those haughty and great men, to whom they dare not refuse to sell upon credit, and from whom they are altogether uncertain of repayment.

In England, on the contrary, the natural good effects of the colony trade, assisted by other causes, have in a great measure conquered the bad effects of the monopoly. These causes seem to be, the general liberty of trade, which, notwithstanding some restraints, is at least equal, perhaps superior, to what it is in any other country; the liberty of exporting, duty free, almost all sorts of goods which are the produce of domestic industry, to almost any foreign country; and what, perhaps, is of still greater importance, the unbounded liberty of transporting them from any one part of our own country to any other, without being obliged to give any account to any public office, without being liable to question or examination of any kind; but above all, that equal and impartial administration of justice which renders the rights of the meanest British subject respectable to the greatest, and which, by securing to every man the fruits of his own industry, gives the greatest and most effectual encouragement to every sort of industry.

IF the manufactures of Great Britain, however, have been advanced, as they certainly have, by the colony trade, it has not been by means of the monopoly of that trade, but in ſpite of the monopoly. The effect of the monopoly has been, not to augment the quantity, but to alter the quality and ſhape of a part of the manufactures of Great Britain, and to accommodate to a market, from which the returns are ſlow and diſtant, what would otherwiſe have been accommodated to one from which the returns are frequent and near. Its effect has conſequently been to turn a part of the capital of Great Britain from an employment in which it would have maintained a greater quantity of manufacturing induſtry, to one in which it maintains a much ſmaller, and thereby to diminiſh, inſtead of increaſing, the whole quantity of manufacturing induſtry maintained in Great Britain.

THE monopoly of the colony trade, therefore, like all the other mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile ſyſtem, depreſſes the induſtry of all other countries, but chiefly that of the colonies, without in the leaſt increaſing, but on the contrary diminiſhing, that of the country in whoſe favour it is eſtabliſhed.

THE monopoly hinders the capital of that country, whatever may at any particular time be the extent of that capital, from maintaining ſo great a quantity of productive labour as it would otherwiſe maintain, and from affording ſo great a revenue to the induſtrious inhabitants as it would otherwiſe afford. But as capital can be increaſed only by ſavings from revenue, the monopoly, by hindering it from affording ſo great a revenue as it would otherwiſe afford, neceſſarily hinders it from increaſing ſo faſt as it would otherwiſe increaſe, and conſequently from maintaining a ſtill greater quantity of productive labour,

bour, and affording a ſtill greater revenue to the induſtrious inhabitants of that country. One great original ſource of revenue, therefore, the wages of labour, the monopoly muſt neceſſarily have rendered at all times leſs abundant than it otherwiſe would have been.

By raiſing the rate of mercantile profit, the monopoly diſcourages the improvement of land. The profit of improvement depends upon the difference between what the land actually produces, and what, by the application of a certain capital, it can be made to produce. If this difference affords a greater profit than what can be drawn from an equal capital in any mercantile employment, the improvement of land will draw capital from all mercantile employments. If the profit is leſs, mercantile employments will draw capital from the improvement of land. Whatever therefore raiſes the rate of mercantile profit, either leſſens the ſuperiority or increaſes the inferiority of the profit of improvement; and in the one caſe hinders capital from going to improvement, and in the other draws capital from it. But by diſcouraging improvement, the monopoly neceſſarily retards the natural increaſe of another great original ſource of revenue, the rent of land. By raiſing the rate of profit too, the monopoly neceſſarily keeps up the market rate of intereſt higher than it otherwiſe would be. But the price of land in proportion to the rent which it affords, the number of years purchaſe which is commonly paid for it, neceſſarily falls as the rate of intereſt riſes, and riſes as the rate of intereſt falls. The monopoly, therefore, hurts the intereſt of the landlord two different ways, by retarding the natural increaſe, firſt, of his rent, and ſecondly, of the price which he would get for his land in proportion to the rent which it affords.

The monopoly indeed, raiſes the rate of mercan-

tile profit, and thereby augments somewhat the gain of our merchants. But as it obstructs the natural increase of capital, it tends rather to diminish than to increase the sum total of the revenue which the inhabitants of the country derive from the profits of stock; a small profit upon a great capital generally affording a greater revenue than a great profit upon a small one. The monopoly raises the rate of profit, but it hinders the sum of profit from rising so high as it otherwise would do.

ALL the original sources of revenue, the wages of labour, the rent of land, and the profits of stock, the monopoly renders much less abundant than they otherwise would be. To promote the little interest of one little order of men in one country, it hurts the interest of all other orders of men in that country, and of all men in all other countries.

IT is solely by raising the ordinary rate of profit that the monopoly either has proved or could prove advantageous to any one particular order of men. But besides all the bad effects to the country in general, which have already been mentioned as necessarily resulting from a high rate of profit; there is one more fatal, perhaps, than all these put together, but which, if we may judge from experience, is inseparably connected with it. The high rate of profit seems every where to destroy that parsimony which in other circumstances is natural to the character of the merchant. When profits are high, that sober virtue seems to be superfluous, and expensive luxury to suit better the affluence of his situation. But the owners of the great mercantile capitals are necessarily the leaders and conductors of the whole industry of every nation, and their example has a much greater influence upon the manners of the whole industrious part of it than that of any other order of men. If his employer is attentive and parsimonious, the workman

man is very likely to be so too; but if the master is dissolute and disorderly, the servant who shapes his work according to the pattern which his master prescribes him, will shape his life too according to the example which he sets him. Accumulation is thus prevented in the hands of all those who are naturally the most disposed to accumulate; and the funds destined for the maintenance of productive labour receive no augmentation from the revenue of those who ought naturally to augment them the most. The capital of the country, instead of increasing, gradually dwindles away, and the quantity of productive labour maintained in it grows every day less and less. Have the exorbitant profits of the merchants of Cadiz and Lisbon augmented the capital of Spain and Portugal? Have they alleviated the poverty, have they promoted the industry of those two beggarly countries? Such has been the tone of mercantile expence in those two trading cities, that those exorbitant profits, far from augmenting the general capital of the country, seem scarce to have been sufficient to keep up the capitals upon which they were made. Foreign capitals are every day intruding themselves, if I may say so, more and more into the trade of Cadiz and Lisbon. It is to expel those foreign capitals from a trade which their own grows every day more and more insufficient for carrying on, that the Spaniards and Portuguese endeavour every day to straiten more and more the galling bands of their absurd monopoly. Compare the mercantile manners of Cadiz and Lisbon with those of Amsterdam, and you will be sensible how differently the conduct and character of merchants are affected by the high and by the low profits of stock. The merchants of London, indeed, have not yet generally become such magnificent lords as those of Cadiz and Lisbon; but neither are they in general such attentive and parsimonious burghers as those

thoſe of Amſterdam. They are ſuppoſed, however, many of them, to be a good deal richer than the greater part of the former, and not quite ſo rich as many of the latter. But the rate of their profit is commonly much lower than that of the former, and a good deal higher than that of the latter. Light come light go, ſays the proverb; and the ordinary tone of expence ſeems every where to be regulated, not ſo much according to the real ability of ſpending, as to the ſuppoſed facility of getting money to ſpend.

IT is thus that the ſingle advantage which the monopoly procures to a ſingle order of men, is in many different ways hurtful to the general intereſt of the country.

TO found a great empire for the ſole purpoſe of raiſing up a people of cuſtomers, may at firſt ſight appear a project fit only for a nation of ſhopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of ſhopkeepers; but extremely fit for a nation whoſe government is influenced by ſhopkeepers. Such ſtateſmen, and ſuch ſtateſmen only, are capable of fancying that they will find ſome advantage in employing the blood and treaſure of their fellow-citizens, to found and maintain ſuch an empire. Say to a ſhopkeeper, Buy me a good eſtate, and I ſhall always buy my clothes at your ſhop, even though I ſhould pay ſomewhat dearer than what I can have them for at other ſhops; and you will not find him very forward to embrace your propoſal. But ſhould any other perſon buy you ſuch an eſtate, the ſhopkeeper would be much obliged to your benefactor if he would enjoin you to buy all your clothes at his ſhop. England purchaſed for ſome of her ſubjects, who found themſelves uneaſy at home, a great eſtate in a diſtant country. The price, indeed, was very ſmall, and inſtead of thirty years purchaſe, the ordinary price of land in the preſent times, it amounted to little more than

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the expence of the different equipments which made the firſt diſcovery, reconnoitred the coaſt, and took a fictitious poſſeſſion of the country. The land was good and of great extent, and the cultivators having plenty of good ground to work upon, and being for ſome time at liberty to ſell their produce where they pleaſed, became in the courſe of little more than thirty or forty years (between 1620 and 1660) ſo numerous and thriving a people, that the ſhopkeepers and other traders of England wiſhed to ſecure to themſelves the monopoly of their cuſtom. Without pretending, therefore, that they had paid any part, either of the original purchaſe-money, or of the ſubſequent expence of improvement, they petitioned the parliament that the cultivators of America might for the future be confined to their ſhop; firſt, for buying all the goods which they wanted from Europe; and ſecondly, for ſelling all ſuch parts of their own produce as thoſe traders might find it convenient to buy. For they did not find it convenient to buy every part of it. Some parts of it imported into England might have interfered with ſome of the trades which they themſelves carried on at home. Thoſe particular parts of it, therefore, they were willing that the coloniſts ſhould ſell where they could; the farther off the better; and upon that account propoſed that their market ſhould be confined to the countries ſouth of Cape Finiſterre. A clauſe in the famous act of navigation eſtabliſhed this truly ſhopkeeper propoſal into a law.

THE maintenance of this monopoly has hitherto been the principal, or more properly perhaps the ſole end and purpoſe of the dominion which Great Britain aſſumes over her colonies. In the excluſive trade, it is ſuppoſed, conſiſts the great advantage of provinces, which have never yet afforded either revenue or military force for the ſupport of the civil government, or the defence of the mother country. The monopoly

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is the principal badge of their dependency, and it is the ſole fruit which has hitherto been gathered from that dependency. Whatever expence Great Britain has hitherto laid out in maintaining this dependency, has really been laid out in order to ſupport this monopoly. The expence of the ordinary peace eſtabliſhment of the colonies amounted, before the commencement of the preſent diſturbances, to the pay of twenty regiments of foot; to the expence of the artillery, ſtores, and extraordinary proviſions with which it was neceſſary to ſupply them; and to the expence of a very conſiderable naval force which was conſtantly kept up, in order to guard, from the ſmuggling veſſels of other nations, the immenſe coaſt of North America, and that of our Weſt Indian iſlands. The whole expence of this peace eſtabliſhment was a charge upon the revenue of Great Britain, and was, at the ſame time, the ſmalleſt part of what the dominion of the colonies has coſt the mother country. If we would know the amount of the whole, we muſt add to the annual expence of this peace eſtabliſhment the intereſt of the ſums which, in conſequence of her conſidering her colonies as provinces ſubject to her dominion, Great Britain has upon different occaſions laid out upon their defence. We muſt add to it, in particular, the whole expence of the late war, and a great part of that of the war which preceded it. The late war was altogether a colony quarrel, and the whole expence of it, in whatever part of the world it may have been laid out, whether in Germany or the Eaſt Indies, ought juſtly to be ſtated to the account of the colonies. It amounted to more than ninety millions ſterling, including not only the new debt which was contracted, but the two ſhillings in the pound additional land tax, and the ſums which were every year borrowed from the ſinking fund. The Spaniſh war, which began in 1739, was principally a colony quarrel.

rel. Its principal object was to prevent the search of the colony ships which carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish main. This whole expence is, in reality, a bounty which has been given in order to support a monopoly. The pretended purpose of it was to encourage the manufactures, and to increase the commerce of Great Britain. But its real effect has been to raise the rate of mercantile profit, and to enable our merchants to turn into a branch of trade, of which the returns are more slow and distant than those of the greater part of other trades, a greater proportion of their capital than they otherwise would have done; two events which, if a bounty could have prevented, it might perhaps have been very well worth while to give such a bounty.

UNDER the present system of management, therefore, Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion which she assumes over her colonies.

To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies, and leave them to elect their own magistrates, to enact their own laws, and to make peace and war as they might think proper, would be to propose such a measure as never was, and never will be adopted, by any nation in the world. No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it, and how small soever the revenue which it afforded might be in proportion to the expence which it occasioned. Such sacrifices, though they might frequently be agreeable to the interest, are always mortifying to the pride of every nation, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, they are always contrary to the private interest of the governing part of it, who would thereby be deprived of the disposal of many places of trust and profit, of many opportunities of acquiring wealth and distinction, which the possession of the most turbulent,

bulent, and, to the great body of the people, the most unprofitable province seldom fails to afford. The most visionary enthusiast would scarce be capable of proposing such a measure, with any serious hopes at least of its ever being adopted. If it was adopted, however, Great Britain would not only be immediately freed from the whole annual expence of the peace establishment of the colonies, but might settle with them such a treaty of commerce as would effectually secure to her a free trade, more advantageous to the great body of the people, though less so to the merchants, than the monopoly which she at present enjoys. By thus parting good friends, the natural affection of the colonies to the mother country, which, perhaps, our late dissentions have well nigh extinguished, would quickly revive. It might dispose them not only to respect, for whole centuries together, that treaty of commerce which they had concluded with us at parting, but to favour us in war as well as in trade, and, instead of turbulent and factious subjects, to become our most faithful, affectionate, and generous allies; and the same sort of parental affection on the one side, and filial respect on the other, might revive between Great Britain and her colonies, which used to subsist between those of ancient Greece and the mother city from which they descended.

In order to render any province advantageous to the empire to which it belongs, it ought to afford, in time of peace, a revenue to the public sufficient not only for defraying the whole expence of its own peace establishment, but for contributing its proportion to the support of the general government of the empire. Every province necessarily contributes, more or less, to increase the expence of that general government. If any particular province, therefore, does not contribute its share towards defraying this expence,

expence, an unequal burden must be thrown upon some other part of the empire. The extraordinary revenue too which every province affords to the public in time of war, ought, from parity of reason, to bear the same proportion to the extraordinary revenue of the whole empire which its ordinary revenue does in time of peace. That neither the ordinary nor extraordinary revenue which Great Britain derives from her colonies, bears this proportion to the whole revenue of the British empire, will readily be allowed. The monopoly, it has been supposed, indeed, by increasing the private revenue of the people of Great Britain, and thereby enabling them to pay greater taxes, compensates the deficiency of the public revenue of the colonies. But this monopoly, I have endeavoured to show, though a very grievous tax upon the colonies, and though it may increase the revenue of a particular order of men in Great Britain, diminishes instead of increasing that of the great body of the people; and consequently diminishes instead of increasing the ability of the great body of the people to pay taxes. The men too whose revenue the monopoly increases, constitute a particular order, which it is both absolutely impossible to tax beyond the proportion of other orders, and extremely impolitic even to attempt to tax beyond that proportion, as I shall endeavour to shew in the following book. No particular resource, therefore, can be drawn from this particular order.

THE colonies may be taxed either by their own assemblies, or by the parliament of Great Britain.

THAT the colony assemblies can ever be so managed as to levy upon their constituents a public revenue sufficient, not only to maintain at all times their own civil and military establishment, but to pay their proper proportion of the expence of the general government of the British empire, seems not very probable. It was a long time before even the parliament

of England, though placed immediately under the eye of the ſovereign, could be brought under ſuch a ſyſtem of management, or could be rendered ſufficiently liberal in their grants for ſupporting the civil and military eſtabliſhments even of their own country. It was only by diſtributing among the particular members of parliament, a great part either of the offices, or of the diſpoſal of the offices ariſing from this civil and military eſtabliſhment, that ſuch a ſyſtem of management could be eſtabliſhed even with regard to the parliament of England. But the diſtance of the colony aſſemblies from the eye of the ſovereign, their number, their diſperſed ſituation, and their various conſtitutions, would render it very difficult to manage them in the ſame manner, even tho' the ſovereign had the ſame means of doing it; and thoſe means are wanting. It would be abſolutely impoſſible to diſtribute among all the leading members of all the colony aſſemblies ſuch a ſhare, either of the offices or of the diſpoſal of the offices ariſing from the general government of the Britiſh empire, as to diſpoſe them to give up their popularity at home, and to tax their conſtituents for the ſupport of that general government, of which almoſt the whole emoluments were to be divided among people who were ſtrangers to them. The unavoidable ignorance of adminiſtration, beſides, concerning the relative importance of the different members of thoſe different aſſemblies, the offences which muſt frequently be given, the blunders which muſt conſtantly be committed in attempting to manage them in this manner, ſeems to render ſuch a ſyſtem of management altogether impracticable with regard to them.

THE colony aſſemblies, beſides, cannot be ſuppoſed the proper judges of what is neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the whole empire. The care of that defence and ſupport is not entruſted to them.

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It is not their buſineſs, and they have no regular means of information concerning it. The aſſembly of a province, like the veſtry of a pariſh, may judge very properly concerning the affairs of its own particular diſtrict; but can have no proper means of judging concerning thoſe of the whole empire. It cannot even judge properly concerning the proportion which its own province bears to the whole empire; or concerning the relative degree of its wealth and importance, compared with the other provinces; becauſe theſe other provinces are not under the inſpection and ſuperintendency of a particular province. What is neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the whole empire, and in what proportion each part ought to contribute, can be judged of only by that aſſembly which inſpects and ſuperintends the affairs of the whole empire.

It has been propoſed, accordingly, that the colonies ſhould be taxed by requiſition, the parliament of Great Britain determining the ſum which each colony ought to pay, and the provincial aſſembly aſſeſſing and levying it in the way that ſuited beſt the circumſtances of the province. What concerned the whole empire would in this way be determined by the aſſembly which inſpects and ſuperintends the affairs of the whole empire; and the provincial affairs of each colony might ſtill be regulated by its own aſſembly. Though the colonies ſhould in this caſe have no repreſentatives in the Britiſh parliament, yet, if we may judge by experience, there is no probability that the parliamentary requiſition would be unreaſonable. The parliament of England has not upon any occaſion ſhown the ſmalleſt diſpoſition to overburden thoſe parts of the empire which are not repreſented in parliament. The iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, without any means of reſiſting the authority of the parliament, are more lightly taxed than any part of Great Britain.

Britain. Parliament in attempting to exercise its supposed right, whether well or ill grounded, of taxing the colonies, has never hitherto demanded of them any thing which even approached to a just proportion to what was paid by their fellow-subjects at home. If the contribution of the colonies, besides, was to rise or fall in proportion to the rise or fall of the land tax, parliament could not tax them without taxing at the same time its own constituents, and the colonies might in this case be considered as virtually represented in parliament.

EXAMPLES are not wanting of empires in which all the different provinces are not taxed, if I may be allowed the expression, in one mass; but in which the sovereign regulates the sum which each province ought to pay, and in some provinces assesses and levies it as he thinks proper; while in others, he leaves it to be assessed and levied as the respective states of each province shall determine. In some provinces of France, the king not only imposes what taxes he thinks proper, but assesses and levies them in the way he thinks proper. From others he demands a certain sum, but leaves it to the states of each province to assess and levy that sum as they think proper. According to the scheme of taxing by requisition, the parliament of Great Britain would stand nearly in the same situation towards the colony assemblies, as the king of France does towards the states of those provinces which still enjoy the privilege of having states of their own, the provinces of France which are supposed to be the best governed.

BUT though, according to this scheme, the colonies could have no just reason to fear that their share of the public burdens should ever exceed the proper proportion to that of their fellow-citizens at home; Great Britain might have just reason to fear that it never would amount to that proper proportion. The

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parliament of Great Britain has not for ſome time paſt had the ſame eſtabliſhed authority in the colonies, which the French king has in thoſe provinces of France which ſtill enjoy the privilege of having ſtates of their own. The colony aſſemblies, if they were not very favourably diſpoſed (and unleſs more ſkilfully managed than they ever have been hitherto, they are not very likely to be ſo) might ſtill find many pretences for evading or rejecting the moſt reaſonable requiſitions of parliament. A French war breaks out, we ſhall ſuppoſe; ten millions muſt immediately be raiſed, in order to defend the ſeat of the empire. This ſum muſt be borrowed upon the credit of ſome parliamentary fund mortgaged for paying the intereſt. Part of this fund parliament propoſes to raiſe by a tax to be levied in Great Britain, and part of it by a requiſition to all the different colony aſſemblies of America and the Weſt Indies. Would people readily advance their money upon the credit of a fund, which partly depended upon the good humour of all thoſe aſſemblies, far diſtant from the ſeat of the war, and ſometimes, perhaps, thinking themſelves not much concerned in the event of it? Upon ſuch a fund no more money would probably be advanced than what the tax to be levied in Great Britain might be ſuppoſed to anſwer for. The whole burden of the debt contracted on account of the war would in this manner fall, as it always has done hitherto, upon Great Britain; upon a part of the empire, and not upon the whole empire. Great Britain is, perhaps, ſince the world began, the only ſtate which, as it has extended its empire, has only increaſed its expence without once augmenting its reſources. Other ſtates have generally diſburdened themſelves upon their ſubject and ſubordinate provinces of the moſt conſiderable part of the expence of defending the empire. Great Britain has hitherto

ſuffered her ſubject and ſubordinate provinces to diſburden themſelves upon her of almoſt this whole expence. In order to put Great Britain upon a footing of equality with her own colonies, which the law has hitherto ſuppoſed to be ſubject and ſubordinate, it ſeems neceſſary, upon the ſcheme of taxing them by parliamentary requiſition, that parliament ſhould have ſome means of rendering its requiſitions immediately effectual, in caſe the colony aſſemblies ſhould attempt to evade or reject them; and what thoſe means are, it is not very eaſy to conceive, and it has not yet been explained.

SHOULD the parliament of Great Britain, at the ſame time, be ever fully eſtabliſhed in the right of taxing the colonies, even independent of the conſent of their own aſſemblies, the importance of thoſe aſſemblies would from that moment be at an end, and with it, that of all the leading men of Britiſh America. Men deſire to have ſome ſhare in the management of public affairs chiefly on account of the importance which it gives them. Upon the power which the greater part of the leading men, the natural ariſtocracy of every country, have of preſerving or defending their reſpective importance, depends the ſtability and duration of every ſyſtem of free government. In the attacks which thoſe leading men are continually making upon the importance of one another, and in the defence of their own, conſiſts the whole play of domeſtic faction and ambition. The leading men of America, like thoſe of all other countries, deſire to preſerve their own importance. They feel, or imagine, that if their aſſemblies, which they are fond of calling parliaments, and of conſidering as equal in authority to the parliament of Great Britain, ſhould be ſo far degraded as to become the humble miniſters and executive officers of that parliament, the greater part of their own importance would be

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at an end. They have rejected, therefore, the propoſal of being taxed by parliamentary requiſition, and like other ambitious and high-ſpirited men, have rather choſen to draw the ſword in defence of their own importance.

TOWARDS the declenſion of the Roman republic, the allies of Rome, who had borne the principal burden of defending the ſtate and extending the empire, demanded to be admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens. Upon being refuſed, the ſocial war broke out. During the courſe of that war Rome granted thoſe privileges to the greater part of them, one by one, and in proportion as they detached themſelves from the general confederacy. The parliament of Great Britain inſiſts upon taxing the colonies; and they refuſe to be taxed by a parliament in which they are not repreſented. If to each colony, which ſhould detach itſelf from the general confederacy, Great Britain ſhould allow ſuch a number of repreſentatives as ſuited the proportion of what it contributed to the public revenue of the empire, in conſequence of its being ſubjected to the ſame taxes, and in compenſation admitted to the ſame freedom of trade with its fellow-ſubjects at home; the number of its repreſentatives to be augmented as the proportion of its contribution might afterwards augment; a new method of acquiring importance, a new and more dazzling object of ambition would be preſented to the leading men of each colony. Inſtead of piddling for the little prizes which are to be found in what may be called the paltry raffle of colony faction; they might then hope, from the preſumption which men naturally have in their own ability and good fortune, to draw ſome of the great prizes which ſometimes come from the wheel of the great ſtate lottery of Britiſh politics. Unleſs this or ſome other method is fallen upon, and there ſeems to be none more

more obvious than this, of preſerving the importance and of gratifying the ambition of the leading men of America, it is not very probable that they will ever voluntarily ſubmit to us; and we ought to conſider that the blood which muſt be ſhed in forcing them to do ſo, is, every drop of it, the blood either of thoſe who are, or of thoſe whom we wiſh to have for our fellow-citizens. They are very weak who flatter themſelves that, in the ſtate to which things have come, our colonies will be eaſily conquered by force alone. The perſons who now govern the reſolutions of what they call their continental congreſs, feel in themſelves at this moment a degree of importance which, perhaps, the greateſt ſubjects in Europe ſcarce feel. From ſhopkeepers, tradeſmen, and attornies, they are become ſtateſmen and legiſlators, and are employed in contriving a new form of government for an extenſive empire, which, they flatter themſelves, will become, and which, indeed, ſeems very likely to become, one of the greateſt and moſt formidable that ever was in the world. Five hundred different people, perhaps, who in different ways act immediately under the continental congreſs; and five hundred thouſand, perhaps, who act under thoſe five hundred, all feel in the ſame manner a proportionable riſe in their own importance. Almoſt every individual of the governing party in America, fills, at preſent in his own fancy, a ſtation ſuperior, not only to what he had ever filled before, but to what he had ever expected to fill; and unleſs ſome new object of ambition is preſented either to him or to his leaders, if he has the ordinary ſpirit of a man, he will die in defence of that ſtation.

IT is a remark of the preſident Henaut, that we now read with pleaſure the account of many little tranſactions of the Ligue, which when they happened were not perhaps conſidered as very important pieces of news. But every man then, ſays he, fancied

cied himſelf of ſome importance; and the innumerable memoirs which have come down to us from thoſe times, were, the greater part of them, written by people who took pleaſure in recording and magnifying events, in which, they flattered themſelves, they had been conſiderable actors. How obſtinately the city of Paris upon that occaſion defended itſelf, what a dreadful famine it ſupported rather than ſubmit to the beſt and afterwards to the moſt beloved of the French kings, is well known. The greater part of the citizens, or thoſe who governed the greater part of them, fought in defence of their own importance, which they foreſaw was to be at an end whenever the ancient government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. Our colonies, unleſs they can be induced to conſent to a union, are very likely to defend themſelves againſt the beſt of all mother countries, as obſtinately as the city of Paris did againſt one of the beſt of kings.

THE idea of repreſentation was unknown in ancient times. When the people of one ſtate were admitted to the right of citizenſhip in another, they had no other means of exerciſing that right but by coming in a body to vote and deliberate with the people of that other ſtate. The admiſſion of the greater part of the inhabitants of Italy to the privileges of Roman citizens, completely ruined the Roman republic. It was no longer poſſible to diſtinguiſh between who was and who was not a Roman citizen. No tribe could know its own members. A rabble of any kind could be introduced into the aſſemblies of the people, could drive out the real citizens, and decide upon the affairs of the republic as if they themſelves had been ſuch. But though America were to ſend fifty or ſixty new repreſentatives to parliament, the door-keeper of the houſe of commons could not find any great difficulty in diſtinguiſhing between who was and who was not a member. Though the Roman conſtitution, therefore,

fore, was neceſſarily ruined by the union of Rome with the allied ſtates of Italy, there is not the leaſt probability that the Britiſh conſtitution would be hurt by the union of Great Britain with her colonies.—That conſtitution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and ſeems to be imperfect without it. The aſſembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have repreſentatives from every part of it. That this union, however, could be eaſily effectuated, or that difficulties and great difficulties might not occur in the execution, I do not pretend. I have yet heard of none, however, which appear inſurmountable. The principal perhaps ariſe, not from the nature of things, but from the prejudices and opinions of the people both on this and on the other ſide of the Atlantic.

WE, on this ſide of the water, are afraid leſt the multitude of American repreſentatives ſhould overturn the balance of the conſtitution, and increaſe too much either the influence of the crown, on the one hand, or the force of the democracy on the other. But if the number of American repreſentatives were to be in proportion to the produce of American taxation, the number of people to be managed would increaſe exactly in proportion to the means of managing them; and the means of managing, to the number of people to be managed. The monarchical and democratical parts of the conſtitution would, after the union, ſtand exactly in the ſame degree of relative force with regard to one another as they had done before.

THE people on the other ſide of the water are afraid leſt their diſtance from the ſeat of government might expoſe them to many oppreſſions. But their repreſentatives in parliament, of which the number ought from the firſt to be conſiderable, would eaſily be able to protect them from all oppreſſion. The diſtance could

could not weaken much the dependency of the representative upon the conſtituent, and the former would ſtill feel that he owed his ſeat in parliament, and all the conſequence which he derived from it, to the good will of the latter. It would be the intereſt of the former, therefore, to cultivate that good will by complaining, with all the authority of a member of the legiſlature, of every outrage which any civil or military officer might be guilty of in thoſe remote parts of the empire. The diſtance of America from the ſeat of government, beſides, the natives of that country might flatter themſelves, with ſome appearance of reaſon too, would not be of very long continuance. Such has hitherto been the rapid progreſs of that country, in wealth, population and improvement, that in the courſe of little more than a century, perhaps, the produce of American might exceed that of Britiſh taxation. The ſeat of the empire would then naturally remove itſelf to that part of the empire which contributed moſt to the general defence and ſupport of the whole.

THE diſcovery of America, and that of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greateſt and moſt important events recorded in the hiſtory of mankind. Their conſequences have already been very great: but, in the ſhort period of between two and three centuries which has elapſed ſince theſe diſcoveries were made, it is impoſſible that the whole extent of their conſequences can have been ſeen. What benefits, or what misfortunes to mankind may hereafter reſult from thoſe great events, no human wiſdom can foreſee. By uniting, in ſome meaſure, the moſt diſtant parts of the world, by enabling them to relieve one another's wants, to increaſe one another's enjoyments, and to encourage one another's induſtry, their general tendency would ſeem to be beneficial. To the natives, however, both of the

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Eaſt and Weſt Indies, all the commercial benefits which can have reſulted from thoſe events have been ſunk and loſt in the dreadful misfortunes which they have occaſioned. Theſe misfortunes, however, ſeem to have ariſen rather from accident than from any thing in the nature of thoſe events themſelves. At the particular time when theſe diſcoveries were made, the ſuperiority of force happened to be ſo great on the ſide of the Europeans, that they were enabled to commit with impunity every ſort of injuſtice in thoſe remote countries. Hereafter, perhaps, the natives of thoſe countries may grow ſtronger, or thoſe of Europe may grow weaker, and the inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force which, by inſpiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injuſtice of independent nations into ſome ſort of reſpect for the rights of one another. But nothing ſeems more likely to eſtabliſh this equality of force than that mutual communication of knowledge and of all ſorts of improvements which an extenſive commerce from all countries to all countries naturally, or rather neceſſarily, carries along with it.

IN the mean time, one of the principal effects of thoſe diſcoveries has been to raiſe the mercantile ſyſtem to a degree of ſplendor and glory which it could never otherwiſe have attained to. It is the object of that ſyſtem to enrich a great nation rather by trade and manufactures than by the improvement and cultivation of land, rather by the induſtry of the towns than by that of the country. But, in conſequence of thoſe diſcoveries, the commercial towns of Europe, inſtead of being the manufacturers and carriers for but a very ſmall part of the world (that part of Europe which is waſhed by the Atlantic ocean, and the countries which lie round the Baltic and Mediterranean ſeas), have now become the manufacturers for

for the numerous and thriving cultivators of America, and the carriers, and in ſome reſpects the manufacturers too, for almoſt all the different nations of Aſia, Africa, and America. Two new worlds have been opened to their induſtry, each of them much greater and more extenſive than the old one, and the market of one of them growing ſtill greater and greater every day.

THE countries which poſſeſs the colonies of America, and which trade directly to the Eaſt Indies, enjoy, indeed, the whole ſhew and ſplendour of this great commerce. Other countries, however, notwithſtanding all the invidious reſtraints by which it is meant to exclude them, frequently enjoy a greater ſhare of the real benefit of it. The colonies of Spain and Portugal, for example, give more real encouragement to the induſtry of other countries than to that of Spain and Portugal. In the ſingle article of linen alone the conſumption of thoſe colonies amounts, it is ſaid, but I do not pretend to warrant the quantity, to more than three millions ſterling a year. But this great conſumption is almoſt entirely ſupplied by France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany. Spain and Portugal furniſh but a ſmall part of it. The capital which ſupplies the colonies with this great qnantity of linen is annually diſtributed among, and furniſhes a revenue to the inhabitants of thoſe other countries. The profits of it only are ſpent in Spain and Portugal, where they help to ſupport the ſumptuous profuſion of the merchants of Cadiz and Liſbon.

EVEN the regulations by which each nation endeavours to ſecure to itſelf the excluſive trade of its own colonies, are frequently more hurtful to the countries in favour of which they are eſtabliſhed, than to thoſe againſt which they are eſtabliſhed. The unjuſt oppreſſion of the induſtry of other countries falls

back, if I may say so, upon the heads of the oppressors, and crushes their industry more than it does that of those other countries. By those regulations, for example, the merchant of Hamburgh must send the linen which he destines for the American market to London, and he must bring back from thence the tobacco which he destines for the German market; because he can neither send the one directly to America, nor bring back the other directly from thence. By this restraint he is probably obliged to sell the one somewhat cheaper, and to buy the other somewhat dearer than he otherwise might have done; and his profits are probably somewhat abridged by means of it. In this trade, however, between Hamburgh and London, he certainly receives the returns of his capital much more quickly than he could possibly have done in the direct trade to America, even though we should suppose, what is by no means the case, that the payments of America were as punctual as those of London. In the trade, therefore, to which those regulations confine the merchant of Hamburgh, his capital can keep in constant employment a much greater quantity of German industry than it possibly could have done in the trade from which he is excluded. Though the one employment, therefore, may to him perhaps be less profitable than the other, it cannot be less advantageous to his country. It is quite otherwise with the employment into which the monopoly naturally attracts, if I may say so, the capital of the London merchant. That employment may, perhaps, be more profitable to him than the greater part of other employments, but, on account of the slowness of the returns, it cannot be more advantageous to his country.

AFTER all the unjust attempts, therefore, of every country in Europe to engross to itself the whole advantage of the trade of its own colonies, no country has

has yet been able to engroſs to itſelf any thing but the expence of ſupporting in time of peace, and of defending in time of war, the oppreſſive authority which it aſſumes over them. The inconveniencies reſulting from the poſſeſſion of its colonies, every country has engroſſed to itſelf completely. The advantages reſulting from their trade it has been obliged to ſhare with many other countries.

At firſt ſight, no doubt, the monopoly of the great commerce of America, naturally ſeems to be an acquiſition of the higheſt value. To the undiſcerning eye of giddy ambition, it naturally preſents itſelf amidſt the confuſed ſcramble of politics and war, as a very dazzling object to fight for. The dazzling ſplendor of the object, however, the immenſe greatneſs of the commerce, is the very quality which renders the monopoly of it hurtful, or which makes one employment, in its own nature neceſſarily leſs advantageous to the country than the greater part of other employments, abſorb a much greater proportion of the capital of the country than what would otherwiſe have gone to it.

The mercantile ſtock of every country, it has been ſhown in the ſecond book, naturally ſeeks, if one may ſay ſo, the employment moſt advantageous to that country. If it is employed in the carrying trade, the country to which it belongs becomes the emporium of the goods of all the countries whoſe trade that ſtock carries on. But the owner of that ſtock neceſſarily wiſhes to diſpoſe of as great a part of thoſe goods as he can at home. He thereby ſaves himſelf the trouble, riſk, and expence of exportation, and he will upon that account be glad to ſell them at home, not only for a much ſmaller price, but with ſomewhat a ſmaller profit than he might expect to make by ſending them abroad. He naturally, therefore, endeavours as much as he can to turn his carrying

rying trade into a foreign trade of consumption. If his stock again is employed in a foreign trade of consumption, he will, for the same reason, be glad to dispose of at home as great a part as he can of the home goods, which he collects in order to export to some foreign market, and he will thus endeavour, as much as he can, to turn his foreign trade of consumption into a home trade. The mercantile stock of every country naturally courts in this manner the near, and shuns the distant employment; naturally courts the employment in which the returns are frequent, and shuns that in which they are distant and slow; naturally courts the employment in which it can maintain the greatest quantity of productive labour in the country to which it belongs, or in which its owner resides, and shuns that in which it can maintain there the smallest quantity. It naturally courts the employment which in ordinary cases is most advantageous, and shuns that which in ordinary cases is least advantageous to that country.

BUT if in any of those distant employments, which in ordinary cases are less advantageous to the country, the profit should happen to rise somewhat higher than what is sufficient to balance the natural preference which is given to nearer employments, this superiority of profit will draw stock from those nearer employments, till the profits of all return to their proper level. This superiority of profit, however, is a proof that, in the actual circumstances of the society, those distant employments are somewhat understocked in proportion to other employments, and that the stock of the society is not distributed in the properest manner among all the different employments carried on in it. It is a proof that something is either bought cheaper or sold dearer than it ought to be, and that some particular class of citizens is more or less oppressed either by paying more or by getting less than

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what is suitable to that equality, which ought to take place, and which naturally does take place among all the different classes of them.

THOUGH the same capital never will maintain the same quantity of productive labour in a distant as in a near employment, yet a distant employment may be as necessary for the welfare of the society as a near one; the goods which the distant employment deals in being necessary, perhaps, for carrying on many of the nearer employments. But if the profits of those who deal in such goods are above their proper level, those goods will be sold dearer than they ought to be, or somewhat above their natural price, and all those engaged in the nearer employments will be more or less oppressed by this high price. Their interest, therefore, in this case requires that some stock should be withdrawn from those nearer employments, and turned towards that distant one, in order to reduce its profits to their proper level, and the price of the goods which it deals in to their natural price. In this extraordinary case, the public interest requires that some stock should be withdrawn from those employments which in ordinary cases are more advantageous, and turned towards one which in ordinary cases is less advantageous to the public: and in this extraordinary case, the natural interests and inclinations of men coincide as exactly with the public interest as in all other ordinary cases, and lead them to withdraw stock from the near, and to turn it towards the distant employment.

IT is thus that the private interests and passions of individuals naturally dispose them to turn their stock towards the employments which in ordinary cases are most advantageous to the society. But if from this natural preference they should turn too much of it towards those employments, the fall of profit in them and the rise of it in all others immediately dis-

poſe them to alter this faulty diſtribution. Without any intervention of law, therefore, the private intereſts and paſſions of men naturally lead them to divide and diſtribute the ſtock of every ſociety, among all the different employments carried on in it, as nearly as poſſible in the proportion which is moſt agreeable to the intereſt of the whole ſociety.

ALL the different regulations of the mercantile ſyſtem, neceſſarily derange more or leſs this natural and moſt advantageous diſtribution of ſtock. But thoſe which concern the trade to America and the Eaſt Indies derange it perhaps more than any other; becauſe the trade to thoſe two great continents abſorbs a greater quantity of ſtock than any two other branches of trade. The regulations, however, by which this derangement is effected in thoſe two different branches of trade are not altogether the ſame. Monopoly is the great engine of both; but it is a different ſort of monopoly. Monopoly of one kind or another, indeed, ſeems to be the ſole engine of the mercantile ſyſtem.

IN the trade to America every nation endeavours to engroſs as much as poſſible the whole market of its own colonies, by fairly excluding all other nations from any direct trade to them. During the greater part of the ſixteenth century, the Portugueſe endeavoured to manage the trade to the Eaſt Indies in the ſame manner, by claiming the ſole right of ſailing in the Indian ſeas, on account of the merit of having firſt found out the road to them. The Dutch ſtill continue to exclude all other European nations from any direct trade to their ſpice iſlands. Monopolies of this kind are evidently eſtabliſhed againſt all other European nations, who are thereby not only excluded from a trade to which it might be convenient for them to turn ſome part of their ſtock, but are obliged to buy the goods which that trade deals in ſomewhat

ſomewhat dearer, than if they could import them themſelves directly from the countries which produce them.

BUT ſince the fall of the power of Portugal, no European nation has claimed the excluſive right of ſailing in the Indian ſeas, of which the principal ports are now open to the ſhips of all European nations. Except in Portugal, however, and within theſe few years in France, the trade to the Eaſt Indies has in every European country been ſubjected to an excluſive company. Monopolies of this kind are properly eſtabliſhed againſt the very nation which erects them. The greater part of that nation are thereby not only excluded from a trade to which it might be convenient for them to turn ſome part of their ſtock, but are obliged to buy the goods which that trade deals in, ſomewhat dearer than if it was open and free to all their countrymen. Since the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, for example, the other inhabitants of England, over and above being excluded from the trade, muſt have paid in the price of the Eaſt India goods which they have conſumed, not only for all the extraordinary profits which the company may have made upon thoſe goods in conſequence of their monopoly, but for all the extraordinary waſte which the fraud and abuſe, inſeparable from the management of the affairs of ſo great a company, muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned. The abſurdity of this ſecond kind of monopoly, therefore, is much more manifeſt than that of the firſt.

BOTH theſe kinds of monopolies derange more or leſs the natural diſtribution of the ſtock of the ſociety: but they do not always derange it in the ſame way.

MONOPOLIES of the firſt kind always attract to the particular trade in which they are eſtabliſhed, a

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greater proportion of the ſtock of the ſociety than what would go to that trade of its own accord.

MONOPOLIES of the ſecond kind may ſometimes attract ſtock towards the particular trade in which they are eſtabliſhed, and ſometimes repel it from that trade, according to different circumſtances. In poor countries they naturally attract towards that trade more ſtock than would otherwiſe go to it. In rich countries they naturally repel from it a good deal of ſtock which would otherwiſe go to it.

SUCH poor countries as Sweden and Denmark, for example, would probably have never ſent a ſingle ſhip to the Eaſt Indies, had not the trade been ſubjected to an excluſive company. The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a company neceſſarily encourages adventurers. Their monopoly ſecures them againſt all competitors in the home market, and they have the ſame chance for foreign markets with the traders of other nations. Their monopoly ſhews them the certainty of a great profit upon a conſiderable quantity of goods, and the chance of a conſiderable profit upon a great quantity. Without ſuch extraordinary encouragement, the poor traders of ſuch poor countries would probably never have thought of hazarding their ſmall capitals in ſo very diſtant and uncertain an adventure as the trade to the Eaſt Indies muſt naturally have appeared to them.

SUCH a rich country as Holland, on the contrary, would probably, in the caſe of a free trade, ſend many more ſhips to the Eaſt Indies than it actually does. The limited ſtock of the Dutch Eaſt India company probably repels from that trade many great mercantile capitals which would otherwiſe go to it. The mercantile capital of Holland is ſo great that it is, as it were, continually overflowing, ſometimes into the public funds of foreign countries, ſometimes into loans to private traders and adventurers of foreign countries,

countries, sometimes into the most round-about foreign trades of consumption, and sometimes into the carrying trade. All near employments being completely filled up, all the capital which can be placed in them with any tolerable profit being already placed in them, the capital of Holland necessarily flows toward the most distant employments. The trade to the East Indies, if it were altogether free, would probably absorb the greater part of this redundant capital. The East Indies offer a market both for the manufactures of Europe and for the gold and silver as well as for several other productions of America, greater and more extensive than both Europe and America put together.

EVERY derangement of the natural distribution of stock is necessarily hurtful to the society in which it takes place; whether it be by repelling from a particular trade the stock which would otherwise go to it, or by attracting towards a particular trade that which would not otherwise come to it. If, without any exclusive company, the trade of Holland to the East Indies would be greater than it actually is, that country must suffer a considerable loss by part of its capital being excluded from the employment most convenient for that part. And in the same manner, if, without an exclusive company, the trade of Sweden and Denmark to the East Indies would be less than it actually is, or, what perhaps is more probable, would not exist at all, those two countries must likewise suffer a considerable loss by part of their capital being drawn into an employment which must be more or less unsuitable to their present circumstances. Better for them, perhaps, in their present circumstances, to buy East India goods of other nations, even though they should pay somewhat dearer, than to turn so great a part of their small capital to so very distant a trade, in which the returns are so very slow, in which

which that capital can maintain ſo ſmall a quantity of productive labour at home, where productive labour is ſo much wanted, where ſo little is done, and where ſo much is to do.

THOUGH without an excluſive company, therefore, a particular country ſhould not be able to carry on any direct trade to the Eaſt Indies, it will not from thence follow that ſuch a company ought to be eſtabliſhed there, but only that ſuch a country ought not in theſe circumſtances to trade directly to the Eaſt Indies.—That ſuch companies are not in general neceſſary for carrying on the Eaſt India trade, is ſufficiently demonſtrated by the experience of the Portugueſe, who enjoyed almoſt the whole of it for more than a century together without any excluſive company.

No private merchant, it has been ſaid, could well have capital ſufficient to maintain factors and agents in the different ports of the Eaſt Indies, in order to provide goods for the ſhips which he might occaſionally ſend thither; and yet, unleſs he was able to do this, the difficulty of finding a cargo might frequently make his ſhips loſe the ſeaſon for returning, and the expence of ſo long a delay would not only eat up the whole profit of the adventure, but frequently occaſion a very conſiderable loſs. This argument, however, if it proved any thing at all, would prove that no one great branch of trade could be carried on without an excluſive company, which is contrary to the experience of all nations. There is no great branch of trade in which the capital of any one private merchant is ſufficient, for carrying on all the ſubordinate branches which muſt be carried on, in order to carry on the principal one. But when a nation is ripe for any great branch of trade, ſome merchants naturally turn their capitals towards the principal, and ſome towards the ſubordinate branches of it; and though all the different branches of it are in this manner carried on, yet

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it very ſeldom happens that they are all carried on by the capital of one private merchant. If a nation, therefore, is ripe for the Eaſt India trade, a certain portion of its capital will naturally divide itſelf among all the different branches of that trade. Some of its merchants will find it for their intereſt to reſide in the Eaſt Indies, and to employ their capitals there in providing goods for the ſhips which are to be ſent out by other merchants who reſide in Europe. The ſettlements which different European nations have obtained in the Eaſt Indies, if they were taken from the excluſive companies to which they at preſent belong, and put under the immediate protection of the ſovereign, would render this reſidence both ſafe and eaſy, at leaſt to the merchants of the particular nations to whom thoſe ſettlements belong. If at any particular time that part of the capital of any country which of its own accord tended and inclined, if I may ſay ſo, towards the Eaſt India trade, was not ſufficient for carrying on all thoſe different branches of it, it would be a proof that, at that particular time, that country was not ripe for that trade, and that it would do better to buy for ſome time, even at a higher price, from other European nations, the Eaſt India goods it had occaſion for, than to import them itſelf directly from the Eaſt Indies. What it might loſe by the high price of thoſe goods could ſeldom be equal to the loſs which it would ſuſtain by the diſtraction of a large portion of its capital from other employments more neceſſary, or more uſeful, or more ſuitable to its circumſtances and ſituation, than a direct trade to the Eaſt Indies.

THOUGH the Europeans poſſeſs many conſiderable ſettlements both upon the coaſt of Africa and in the Eaſt Indies, they have not yet eſtabliſhed in either of thoſe countries ſuch numerous and thriving colonies as thoſe in the iſlands and continent of America.

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Africa, however, as well as ſeveral of the countries comprehended under the general name of the Eaſt Indies, are inhabited by barbarous nations. But thoſe nations were by no means ſo weak and defenceleſs as the miſerable and helpleſs Americans; and in proportion to the natural fertility of the countries which they inhabited, they were beſides much more populous. The moſt barbarous nations either of Africa or of the Eaſt Indies were ſhepherds; even the Hottentots were ſo. But the natives of every part of America, except Mexico and Peru, were only hunters; and the difference is very great between the number of ſhepherds and that of hunters whom the ſame extent of equally fertile territory can maintain. In Africa and the Eaſt Indies, therefore, it was more difficult to diſplace the natives, and to extend the European plantations over the greater part of the lands of the original inhabitants. The genius of excluſive companies, beſides, is unfavourable, it has already been obſerved, to the growth of new colonies, and has probably been the principal cauſe of the little progreſs which they have made in the Eaſt Indies. The Portugueſe carried on the trade both to Africa and the Eaſt Indies without any excluſive companies, and their ſettlements at Congo, Angola, and Benguela on the coaſt of Africa, and at Goa in the Eaſt Indies, though much depreſſed by ſuperſtition and every ſort of bad government, yet bear ſome faint reſemblance to the colonies of America, and are partly inhabited by Portugueſe who have been eſtabliſhed there for ſeveral generations. The Dutch ſettlements at the Cape of Good Hope and at Batavia, are at preſent the moſt conſiderable colonies which the Europeans have eſtabliſhed either in Africa or in the Eaſt Indies, and both theſe ſettlements are peculiarly fortunate in their ſituation. The Cape of Good Hope was inhabited by a race of people

ple almoſt as barbarous and quite as incapable of defending themſelves as the natives of America. It is beſides the half-way houſe, if one may ſay ſo, between Europe and the Eaſt Indies, at which almoſt every European ſhip makes ſome ſtay both in going and returning. The ſupplying of thoſe ſhips with every ſort of freſh proviſions, with fruit and ſometimes with wine, affords alone a very extenſive market for the ſurplus produce of the coloniſts. What the Cape of Good Hope is between Europe and every part of the Eaſt Indies, Batavia is between the principal countries of the Eaſt Indies. It lies upon the moſt frequented road from Indoſtan to China and Japan, and is nearly about mid-way upon that road. Almoſt all the ſhips too that ſail between Europe and China touch at Batavia; and it is, over and above all this, the center and principal mart of what is called the country trade of the Eaſt Indies; not only of that part of it which is carried on by Europeans, but of that which is carried on by the native Indians; and veſſels navigated by the inhabitants of China and Japan, of Tonquin, Malacca, Cochin-China, and the iſland of Celebes, are frequently to be ſeen in its port. Such advantageous ſituations have enabled thoſe two colonies to ſurmount all the obſtacles which the oppreſſive genius of an excluſive company may have occaſionally oppoſed to their growth. They have enabled Batavia to ſurmount the additional diſadvantage of perhaps the moſt unwholeſome climate in the world.

THE Engliſh and Dutch companies, though they have eſtabliſhed no conſiderable colonies, except the two above mentioned, have both made conſiderable conqueſts in the Eaſt Indies. But in the manner in which they both govern their new ſubjects, the natural genius of an excluſive company has ſhown itſelf moſt diſtinctly. In the ſpice iſlands the Dutch are

ſaid to burn all the ſpiceries which a fertile ſeaſon produces beyond what they expect to diſpoſe of in Europe with ſuch a profit as they think ſufficient. In the iſlands where they have no ſettlements, they give a premium to thoſe who collect the young bloſſoms and green leaves of the clove and nutmeg trees which naturally grow there, but which this ſavage policy has now, it is ſaid, almoſt completely extirpated. Even in the iſlands where they have ſettlements they have very much reduced, it is ſaid, the number of thoſe trees. If the produce even of their own iſlands was much greater than what ſuited their market, the natives, they ſuſpect, might find means to convey ſome part of it to other nations; and the beſt way, they imagine, to ſecure their own monopoly, is to take care that no more ſhall grow than what they themſelves carry to market. By different arts of oppreſſion they have reduced the population of ſeveral of the Moluccas nearly to the number which is ſufficient to ſupply with freſh proviſions and other neceſſaries of life their own inſignificant garriſons, and ſuch of their ſhips as occaſionally come there for a cargo of ſpices. Under the government even of the Portugueſe, however, thoſe iſlands are ſaid to have been tolerably well inhabited. The Engliſh company have not yet had time to eſtabliſh in Bengal ſo perfectly deſtructive a ſyſtem. The plan of their government, however, has had exactly the ſame tendency. It has not been uncommon, I am well aſſured, for the chief, that is, the firſt clerk of a factory, to order a peaſant to plough up a rich field of poppies, and ſow it with rice or ſome other grain. The pretence was, to prevent a ſcarcity of proviſions; but the real reaſon, to give the chief an opportunity of ſelling at a better price a large quantity of opium which he happened then to have upon hand. Upon other occaſions the order has been reverſed; and a rich field of rice or other grain has

has been ploughed up, in order to make room for a plantation of poppies; when the chief foreſaw that extraordinary profit was likely to be made by opium. The ſervants of the company have upon ſeveral occaſions attempted to eſtabliſh in their own favour the monopoly of ſome of the moſt important branches, not only of the foreign, but of the inland trade of the country. Had they been allowed to go on, it is impoſſible that they ſhould not at ſome time or another have attempted to reſtrain the production of the particular articles of which they had thus uſurped the monopoly, not only to the quantity which they themſelves could purchaſe, but to that which they could expect to ſell with ſuch a profit as they might think ſufficient. In the courſe of a century or two, the policy of the Engliſh company would in this manner have probably proved as completely deſtructive as that of the Dutch.

NOTHING, however, can be more directly contrary to the real intereſt of thoſe companies, conſidered as the ſovereigns of the countries which they have conquered, than this deſtructive plan. In almoſt all countries the revenue of the ſovereign is drawn from that of the people. The greater the revenue of the people, therefore, the greater the annual produce of their land and labour, the more they can afford to the ſovereign. It is his intereſt, therefore, to increaſe as much as poſſible that annual produce. But if this is the intereſt of every ſovereign, it is peculiarly ſo of one whoſe revenue, like that of the ſovereign of Bengal, ariſes chiefly from a land-rent. That rent muſt neceſſarily be in proportion to the quantity and value of the produce, and both the one and the other muſt depend upon the extent of the market. The quantity will always be ſuited with more or leſs exactneſs to the conſumption of thoſe who can afford to pay for it, and the price which they will pay will always

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be in proportion to the eagerneſs of their competition. It is the intereſt of ſuch a ſovereign, therefore, to open the moſt extenſive market for the produce of his country, to allow the moſt perfect freedom of commerce, in order to increaſe as much as poſſible the number and the competition of buyers; and upon this account to aboliſh, not only all monopolies, but all reſtraints upon the tranſportation of the home produce from one part of the country to another, upon its exportation to foreign countries, or upon the importation of goods of any kind for which it can be exchanged. He is in this manner moſt likely to increaſe both the quantity and value of that produce, and conſequently of his own ſhare of it, or of his own revenue.

BUT a company of merchants are, it ſeems, incapable of conſidering themſelves as ſovereigns, even after they have become ſuch. Trade, or buying in order to ſell again, they ſtill conſider as their principal buſineſs, and by a ſtrange abſurdity, regard the character of the ſovereign as but an appendix to that of the merchant, as ſomething which ought to be made ſubſervient to it, or by means of which they may be enabled to buy cheaper in India, and thereby to ſell with a better profit in Europe. They endeavour for this purpoſe to keep out as much as poſſible all competitors from the market of the countries which are ſubject to their government, and conſequently to reduce, at leaſt, ſome part of the ſurplus produce of thoſe countries to what is barely ſufficient for ſupplying their own demand, or to what they can expect to ſell in Europe with ſuch a profit as they may think reaſonable. Their mercantile habits draw them in this manner, almoſt neceſſarily, though perhaps inſenſibly, to prefer upon all ordinary occaſions the little and tranſitory profit of the monopoliſt to the great and permanent revenue of the ſovereign,

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and would gradually lead them to treat the countries subject to their government nearly as the Dutch treat the Moluccas. It is the interest of the East India company, considered as sovereigns, that the European goods which are carried to their Indian dominions, should be sold there as cheap as possible; and that the Indian goods which are brought from thence should bring there as good a price, or should be sold there as dear as possible. But the reverse of this is their interest as merchants. As sovereigns, their interest is exactly the same with that of the country which they govern. As merchants, their interest is directly opposite to that interest.

But if the genius of such a government, even as to what concerns its direction in Europe, is in this manner essentially and perhaps incurably faulty, that of its administration in India is still more so. That administration is necessarily composed of a council of merchants, a profession no doubt extremely respectable, but which in no country in the world carries along with it that sort of authority which naturally overawes the people, and without force commands their willing obedience. Such a council can command obedience only by the military force with which they are accompanied, and their government is therefore necessarily military and despotical. Their proper business, however, is that of merchants. It is to sell, upon their masters account, the European goods consigned to them, and to buy in return Indian goods for the European market. It is to sell the one as dear and to buy the other as cheap as possible, and consequently to exclude as much as possible all rivals from the particular market where they keep their shop. The genius of the administration, therefore, so far as concerns the trade of the company, is the same as that of the direction. It tends to make government subservient to the interest of mo-

nopoly, and consequently to stunt the natural growth of some parts at least of the surplus produce of the country to what is barely sufficient for answering the demand of the company.

ALL the members of the administration, besides, trade more or less upon their own account, and it is in vain to prohibit them from doing so. Nothing can be more completely foolish than to expect that the clerks of a great counting-house at ten thousand miles distance, and consequently almost quite out of sight, should, upon a simple order from their masters, give up at once doing any sort of business upon their own account, abandon for ever all hopes of making a fortune, of which they have the means in their hands, and content themselves with the moderate salaries which those masters allow them, and which, moderate as they are, can seldom be augmented, being commonly as large as the real profits of the company trade can afford. In such circumstances, to prohibit the servants of the company from trading upon their own account, can have scarce any other effect than to enable the superior servants, under pretence of executing their masters order, to oppress such of the inferior ones as have had the misfortune to fall under their displeasure. The servants naturally endeavour to establish the same monopoly in favour of their own private trade as of the public trade of the company. If they are suffered to act as they could wish, they will establish this monopoly openly and indirectly, by fairly prohibiting all other people from trading in the articles in which they chuse to deal; and this, perhaps, is the best and least oppressive way of establishing it. But if by an order from Europe they are prohibited from doing this, they will, notwithstanding, endeavour to establish a monopoly of the same kind, secretly and indirectly, in a way that is much more destructive to the country.

try. They will employ the whole authority of government, and pervert the administration of justice, in order to harass and ruin those who interfere with them in any branch of commerce which, by means of agents, either concealed, or at least not publicly avowed, they may chuse to carry on. But the private trade of the servants will naturally extend to a much greater variety of articles than the public trade of the company. The public trade of the company extends no further than the trade with Europe, and comprehends a part only of the foreign trade of the country. But the private trade of the servants may extend to all the different branches both of its inland and foreign trade. The monopoly of the company can tend only to stunt the natural growth of that part of the surplus produce which, in the case of a free trade, would be exported to Europe. That of the servants tends to stunt the natural growth of every part of the produce in which they chuse to deal, of what is destined for home consumption, as well as of what is destined for exportation; and consequently to degrade the cultivation of the whole country, and to reduce the number of its inhabitants. It tends to reduce the quantity of every sort of produce, even that of the necessaries of life, whenever the servants of the company chuse to deal in them, to what those servants can both afford to buy and expect to sell with such a profit as pleases them.

From the nature of their situation too the servants must be more disposed to support with rigorous severity their own interest against that of the country which they govern, than their masters can be to support theirs. The country belongs to their masters, who cannot avoid having some regard for the interest of what belongs to them. But it does not belong to the servants. The real interest of their masters, if they were capable of understanding it, is the same with

with that of the country,* and it is from ignorance chiefly, and the meanneſs of mercantile prejudice, that they ever oppreſs it. But the real intereſt of the ſervants is by no means the ſame with that of the country, and the moſt perfect information would not neceſſarily put an end to their oppreſſions. The regulations accordingly which have been ſent out from Europe, though they have been frequently weak, have upon moſt occaſions been well-meaning. More intelligence and perhaps leſs good-meaning has ſometimes appeared in thoſe eſtabliſhed by the ſervants in India. It is a very ſingular government in which every member of the adminiſtration wiſhes to get out of the country, and conſequently to have done with the government, as ſoon as he can, and to whoſe intereſt, the day after he has left it and carried his whole fortune with him, it is perfectly indifferent though the whole country was ſwallowed up by an earthquake.

I MEAN not, however, by any thing which I have here ſaid, to throw any odious imputation upon the general character of the ſervants of the Eaſt India company, and much leſs upon that of any particular perſons. It is the ſyſtem of government, the ſituation in which they are placed, that I mean to cenſure; not the character of thoſe who have acted in it. They acted as their ſituation naturally directed, and they who have clamoured the loudeſt againſt them would, probably, not have acted better themſelves. In war and negociation, the councils of Madras and Calcutta have upon ſeveral occaſions conducted themſelves with a reſolution and deciſive wiſdom which would have done honour to the ſenate of Rome in the beſt

* The intereſt of every proprietor of India Stock, however, is by no means the ſame with that of the country in the government of which his vote gives him ſome influence. See Book V. Chap. i. Part 3d.

beſt days of that republic. The members of thoſe councils, however, had been bred to profeſſions very different from war and politics. But their ſituation alone, without education, experience, or even example, ſeems to have formed in them all at once the great qualities which it required, and to have inſpired them both with abilities and virtues which they themſelves could not well know that they poſſeſſed. If upon ſome occaſions, therefore, it has animated them to actions of magnanimity which could not well have been expected from them, we ſhould not wonder if upon others it has prompted them to exploits of ſomewhat a different nature.

SUCH extenſive companies, therefore, are nuiſances in every reſpect; always more or leſs inconvenient to the countries in which they are eſtabliſhed, and deſtructive to thoſe which have the misfortune to fall under their government.

CHAP. VIII.

Concluſion of the Mercantile Syſtem.

THOUGH the encouragement of exportation, and the diſcouragement of importation, are the two great engines by which the mercantile ſyſtem propoſes to enrich every country, yet with regard to ſome particular commodities, it ſeems to follow an oppoſite plan: to diſcourage exportation and to encourage importation. Its ultimate object, however, it pretends, is always the ſame, to enrich the country by an advantageous balance of trade. It diſcourages the exportation of the materials of manufacture, and of the inſtruments of trade, in order to give our own workmen an advantage, and to enable them to underſell

derſell thoſe of other nations in all foreign markets: and by reſtraining, in this manner, the exportation of a few commodities, of no great price, it propoſes to occaſion a much greater and more valuable exportation of others. It encourages the importation of the materials of manufacture, in order that our own people may be enabled to work them up more cheaply, and thereby prevent a greater and more valuable importation of the manufactured commodities. I do not obſerve, at leaſt in our Statute Book, any encouragement given to the importation of the inſtruments of trade. When manufactures have advanced to a certain pitch of greatneſs, the fabrication of the inſtruments of trade becomes itſelf the object of a great number of very important manufactures. To give any particular encouragement to the importation of ſuch inſtruments, would interfere too much with the intereſt of thoſe manufactures. Such importation, therefore, inſtead of being encouraged, has frequently been prohibited. Thus the importation of wool cards, except from Ireland, or when brought in as wreck or prize goods, was prohibited by the 3d of Edward IV.; which prohibition was renewed by the 39th of Elizabeth, and has been continued and rendered perpetual by ſubſequent laws.

THE importation of the materials of manufacture has ſometimes been encouraged by an exemption from the duties to which other goods are ſubject, and ſometimes by bounties.

THE importation of ſheep's wool from ſeveral different countries, of cotton wool from all countries, of undreſſed flax, of the greater part of dying drugs, of the greater part of undreſſed hides from Ireland or the Britiſh colonies, of ſeal ſkins from the Britiſh Greenland fiſhery, of pig and bar iron from the Britiſh colonies, as well as of ſeveral other materials of manufacture, has been encouraged by an exemption from

from all duties, if properly entered at the cuſtom-houſe. The private intereſt of our merchants and manufacturers may, perhaps, have extorted from the legiſlature theſe exemptions, as well as the greater part of our other commercial regulations. They are, however, perfectly juſt and reaſonable, and if, conſiſtently with the neceſſities of the ſtate, they could be extended to all the other materials of manufacture, the public would certainly be a gainer.

THE avidity of our great manufacturers, however, has in ſome caſes extended theſe exemptions a good deal beyond what can juſtly be conſidered as the rude materials of their work. By the 24 Geo. II. chap. 46. a ſmall duty of only one penny the pound was impoſed upon the importation of foreign brown linen yarn, inſtead of much higher duties to which it had been ſubjected before, viz. of ſixpence the pound upon ſail yarn, of one ſhilling the pound upon all French and Dutch yarn, and of two pounds thirteen ſhillings and fourpence upon the hundred weight of all ſpruce or Muſcovia yarn. But our manufacturers were not long ſatisfied with this reduction. By the 29th of the ſame king, chap. 15th, the ſame law which gave a bounty upon the exportation of Britiſh and Iriſh linen of which the price did not exceed eighteen pence the yard, even this ſmall duty upon the importation of brown linen yarn was taken away. In the different operations, however, which are neceſſary for the preparation of linen yarn, a good deal more induſtry is employed, than in the ſubſequent operation of preparing linen cloth from linen yarn. To ſay nothing of the induſtry of the flax-growers and flax-dreſſers, three or four ſpinners, at leaſt, are neceſſary, in order to keep one weaver in conſtant employment; and more than four-fifths of the whole quantity of labour, neceſſary for the preparation of linen cloth, is employed in that of linen yarn; but our ſpinners are poor people,

people, women commonly, ſcattered about in all different parts of the country, without ſupport or protection. It is not by the ſale of their work, but by that of the complete work of the weavers, that our great maſter manufacturers make their profits. As it is their intereſt to ſell the complete manufacture as dear, ſo is it to buy the materials as cheap as poſſible. By extorting from the legiſlature bounties upon the exportation of their own linen, high duties upon the importation of all foreign linen, and a total prohibition of the home conſumption of ſome ſorts of French linen, they endeavour to ſell their own goods as dear as poſſible. By encouraging the importation of foreign linen yarn, and thereby bringing it into competition with that which is made by our own people, they endeavour to buy the work of the poor ſpinners as cheap as poſſible. They are as intent to keep down the wages of their own weavers, as the earnings of the poor ſpinners, and it is by no means for the benefit of the workman, that they endeavour either to raiſe the price of the complete work, or to lower that of the rude materials. It is the induſtry which is carried on for the benefit of the rich and powerful, that is principally encouraged by our mercantile ſyſtem. That which is carried on for the benefit of the poor and the indigent, is too often, either neglected, or oppreſſed.

BOTH the bounty upon the exportation of linen, and the exemption from duty upon the importation of foreign yarn, which were granted only for fifteen years, but continued by two different prolongations, expire with the end of the ſeſſion of parliament which ſhall immediately follow the 24th of June 1786.

THE encouragement given to the importation of the materials of manufacture by bounties, has been principally confined to ſuch as were imported from our American plantations.

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THE firſt bounties of this kind were thoſe granted about the beginning of the preſent century, upon the importation of naval ſtores from America. Under this denomination were comprehended timber fit for maſts, yards, and bowſprits; hemp; tar, pitch, and turpentine. The bounty, however, of one pound the ton upon maſting-timber, and that of ſix pounds the ton upon hemp, were extended to ſuch as ſhould be imported into England from Scotland. Both theſe bounties continued without any variation, at the ſame rate, till they were ſeverally allowed to expire; that upon hemp on the 1ſt of January 1741, and that upon maſting-timber at the end of the ſeſſion of parliament immediately following the 24th June 1781.

THE bounties upon the importation of tar, pitch, and turpentine underwent, during their continuance, ſeveral alterations. Originally that upon tar was four pounds the ton; that upon pitch, the ſame; and that upon turpentine, three pounds the ton.—The bounty of four pounds the ton upon tar was afterwards confined to ſuch as had been prepared in a particular manner; that upon other good, clean, and merchantable tar was reduced to two pounds four ſhillings the ton. The duty upon pitch was likewiſe reduced to one pound; and that upon turpentine to one pound ten ſhillings the ton.

THE ſecond bounty upon the importation of any of the materials of manufacture, according to the order of time, was that granted by the 24 Geo. II. chap. 30. upon the importation of indigo from the Britiſh plantations. When the plantation indigo was worth three fourths of the price of the beſt French indigo, it was by this act entitled to a bounty of ſixpence the pound. This bounty, which, like moſt others, was granted only for a limited time, was continued by ſeveral prolongations, but was reduced to

fourpence the pound. It was allowed to expire with the end of the ſeſſion of parliament which followed the 25th March, 1781.

THE third bounty of this kind was that granted (much about the time that we were beginning ſometimes to court and ſometimes to quarrel with our American colonies) by the 4 Geo. III. chap. 26. upon the importation of hemp, or undreſſed flax, from the Britiſh plantations. This bounty was granted for twenty-one years, from the 24th June 1764, to the 24th June 1785. For the firſt ſeven years it was to be at the rate of eight pounds the ton, for the ſecond at ſix pounds, and for the third at four pounds. It was not extended to Scotland, of which the climate (although hemp is ſometimes raiſed there, in ſmall quantities and of an inferior quality) is not very fit for that produce. Such a bounty upon the importation of Scotch flax into England would have been too great a diſcouragement to the native produce of the ſouthern part of the united kingdom.

THE fourth bounty of this kind, was that granted by the 5 Geo. III. chap. 45. upon the importation of wood from America. It was granted for nine years, from the 1ſt January 1766, to the 1ſt January 1775. During the firſt three years, it was to be for every hundred and twenty good deals, at the rate of one pound; and for every load containing fifty cubic feet of other ſquared timber at the rate of twelve ſhillings. For the ſecond three years, it was for deals to be at the rate of fifteen ſhillings, and for other ſquared timber, at the rate of eight ſhillings; and for the third three years, it was for deals, to be at the rate of ten ſhillings, and for other ſquared timber, at the rate of five ſhillings.

THE fifth bounty of this kind was that granted by the 9 Geo. III. chap. 38. upon the importation of raw ſilk from the Britiſh plantations. It was granted

ed for twenty-one years, from the 1ſt January 1770, to the 1ſt January 1791. For the firſt ſeven years it was to be at the rate of twenty-five pounds for every hundred pounds value; for the ſecond, at twenty pounds; and for the third, at fifteen pounds. The management of the ſilk worm, and the preparation of ſilk, requires ſo much hand labour; and labour is ſo very dear in America, that even this great bounty, I have been informed, was not likely to produce any conſiderable effect.

THE ſixth bounty of this kind, was that granted by the 11 Geo. III. chap. 50. for the importation of pipe, hogſhead, and barrel ſtaves and heading from the Britiſh plantations. It was granted for nine years, from 1ſt January 1772, to the 1ſt January 1781. For the firſt three years, it was for a certain quantity of each, to be at the rate of ſix pounds; for the ſecond three years, at four pounds; and for the third three years, at two pounds.

THE ſeventh, and laſt bounty of this kind, was that granted by the 19 Geo. III. chap. 37. upon the importation of hemp from Ireland. It was granted in the ſame manner as that for the importation of hemp and undreſſed flax from America, for twenty-one years, from the 24th June 1779, to the 24th June 1800. This term is divided likewiſe into three periods of ſeven years each; and in each of thoſe periods, the rate of the Iriſh bounty is the ſame with that of the American. It does not, however, like the American bounty, extend to the importation of undreſſed flax. It would have been too great a diſcouragement to the cultivation of that plant in Great Britain. When this laſt bounty was granted, the Britiſh and Iriſh legiſlatures were not in much better humour with one another, than the Britiſh and American had been before. But this boon to Ireland, it

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is to be hoped, has been granted under more fortunate auſpices, than all thoſe to America.

THE ſame commodities upon which we thus gave bounties, when imported from America, were ſubjected to conſiderable duties when imported from any other country. The intereſt of our American colonies was regarded as the ſame with that of the mother country. Their wealth was conſidered as our wealth. Whatever money was ſent out to them, it was ſaid, came all back to us by the balance of trade, and we could never become a farthing the poorer, by any expence which we could lay out upon them. They were our own in every reſpect, and it was an expence laid out upon the improvement of our own property, and for the profitable employment of our own people. It is unneceſſary, I apprehend, at preſent to ſay any thing further, in order to expoſe the folly of a ſyſtem, which fatal experience has now ſufficiently expoſed. Had our American colonies really been a part of Great Britain, thoſe bounties might have been conſidered as bounties upon production, and would ſtill have been liable to all the objections to which ſuch bounties are liable, but to no other.

THE exportation of the materials of manufacture is ſometimes diſcouraged by abſolute prohibitions, and ſometimes by high duties.

OUR woollen manufacturers have been more ſucceſsful than any other claſs of workmen, in perſuading the legiſlature that the proſperity of the nation depended upon the ſucceſs and extenſion of their particular buſineſs. They have not only obtained a monopoly againſt the conſumers by an abſolute prohibition of importing woollen cloths from any foreign country; but they have likewiſe obtained another monopoly againſt the ſheep farmers and growers of wool, by a ſimilar prohibition of the exportation of

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live ſheep and wool. The ſeverity of many of the laws which have been enacted for the ſecurity of the revenue is very juſtly complained of, as impoſing heavy penalties upon actions which, antecedent to the ſtatutes that declared them to be crimes, had always been underſtood to be innocent. But the cruelleſt of our revenue laws, I will venture to affirm, are mild and gentle, in compariſon of ſome of thoſe which the clamour of our merchants and manufacturers has extorted from the legiſlature, for the ſupport of their own abſurd and oppreſſive monopolies. Like the laws of Draco, theſe laws may be ſaid to be all written in blood.

By the 8th of Elizabeth, chap. 3. the exporter of ſheep, lambs or rams, was for the firſt offence to forfeit all his goods for ever, to ſuffer a year's impriſonment, and then to have his left hand cut off in a market town upon a market day, to be there nailed up; and for the ſecond offence to be adjuged a felon, and to ſuffer death accordingly. To prevent the breed of our ſheep from being propagated in foreign countries, ſeems to have been the object of this law. By the 13th and 14th of Charles II. chap. 18. the exportation of wool was made felony, and the exporter ſubjected to the ſame penalties and forfeitures as a felon.

For the honour of the national humanity, it is to be hoped that neither of theſe ſtatutes were ever executed. The firſt of them, however, ſo far as I know, has never been directly repealed, and Serjeant Hawkins ſeems to conſider it as ſtill in force. It may however, perhaps, be conſidered as virtually repealed by the 12th of Charles II. chap. 32. ſect. 3. which, without expreſsly taking away the penalties impoſed by former ſtatutes, impoſes a new penalty, viz. That of twenty ſhillings for every ſheep exported, or attempted to be exported, together with the

forfeiture of the ſheep and of the owner's ſhare of the ſhip. The ſecond of them was expreſsly repealed by the 7th and 8th of William III. chap. 28. ſect. 4. By which it is declared that, "Whereas the ſta-"tute of the 13th and 14th of King Charl. II, made "againſt the exportation of wool, among other "things in the ſaid act mentioned, doth enact the "ſame to be deemed felony; by the ſeverity of which "penalty the proſecution of offenders hath not been "ſo effectually put in execution: Be it, therefore, "enacted by the authority forefaid, that ſo much of "the ſaid act, which relates to the making the ſaid "offence felony, be repealed and made void."

THE penalties, however, which are either impoſed by this milder ſtatute, or which, though impoſed by former ſtatutes, are not repealed by this one, are ſtill ſufficiently ſevere. Beſides the forfeiture of the goods, the exporter incurs the penalty of three ſhillings for every pound weight of wool either exported or attempted to be exported, that is about four or five times the value. Any merchant or other perſon convicted of this offence is diſabled from requiring any debt or account belonging to him from any factor or other perſon. Let his fortune be what it will, whether he is, or is not able to pay thoſe heavy penalties, the law means to ruin him completely. But as the morals of the great body of the people are not yet ſo corrupt as thoſe of the contrivers of this ſtatute, I have not heard that any advantage has ever been taken of this clauſe. If the perſon convicted of this offence is not able to pay the penalties within three months after judgment, he is to be tranſported for ſeven years, and if he returns before the expiration of that term, he is liable to the pains of felony, without benefit of clergy. The owner of the ſhip knowing this offence forfeits all his intereſt in the ſhip and furniture. The maſter and mariners know-

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ing this offence forfeit all their goods and chattels, and ſuffer three months impriſonment. By a ſubſequent ſtatute, the maſter ſuffers ſix months impriſonment.

In order to prevent exportation, the whole inland commerce of wool is laid under very burdenſome and oppreſſive reſtrictions. It cannot be packed in any box, barrel, caſk, caſe, cheſt, or any other package, but only in packs of leather or pack-cloth, on which muſt be marked on the outſide the words *wool* or *yarn*, in large letters not leſs than three inches long, on pain of forfeiting the ſame and the package, and three ſhillings for every pound weight, to be paid by the owner or packer. It cannot be loaden on any horſe or cart, or carried by land within five miles of the coaſt, but between ſun-riſing and ſun-ſetting, on pain of forfeiting the ſame, the horſes and carriages. The hundred next adjoining to the ſea coaſt, out of or through which the wool is carried or exported, forfeits twenty pounds, if the wool is under the value of ten pounds; and if of greater value, then treble that value, together with treble coſts, to be ſued for within the year. The execution to be againſt any two of the inhabitants, whom the ſeſſions muſt reimburſe, by an aſſeſſment on the other inhabitants, as in the caſes of robbery. And if any perſon compounds with the hundred for leſs than this penalty, he is to be impriſoned for five years; and any other perſon may proſecute. Theſe regulations take place through the whole kingdom.

But in the particular counties of Kent and Suſſex the reſtrictions are ſtill more troubleſome. Every owner of wool within ten miles of the ſea coaſt muſt give an accouut in writing, three days after ſhearing, to the next officer of the cuſtoms, of the number of his fleeces, and of the places where they are lodged. And before he removes any part of them he muſt

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give the like notice of the number and weight of the fleeces, and of the name and abode of the perſon to whom they are ſold, and of the place to which it is intended they ſhould be carried. No perſon within fifteen miles of the ſea, in the ſaid counties, can buy any wool, before he enters into bond to the king, that no part of the wool which he ſhall ſo buy ſhall be ſold by him to any other perſon within fifteen miles of the ſea. If any wool is found carrying towards the ſea-ſide in the ſaid counties, unleſs it has been entered and ſecurity given as aforeſaid, it is forfeited, and the offender alſo forfeits three ſhillings for every pound weight. If any perſon lays any wool, not entered as aforeſaid, within fifteen miles of the ſea, it muſt be ſeized and forfeited; and if, after ſuch ſeizure, any perſon ſhall claim the ſame, he muſt give ſecurity to the Exchequer, that if he is caſt upon trial he ſhall pay treble coſts, beſides all other penalties.

WHEN ſuch reſtrictions are impoſed upon the inland trade, the coaſting trade, we may believe, cannot be left very free. Every owner of wool who carrieth or cauſeth to be carried any wool to any port or place on the ſea-coaſt, in order to be from thence tranſported by ſea to any other place or port on the coaſt, muſt firſt cauſe an entry thereof to be made at the port from whence it is intended to be conveyed, containing the weight, marks, and number of the packages before he brings the ſame within five miles of that port; on pain of forfeiting the ſame, and alſo the horſes, carts, and other carriages; and alſo of ſuffering and forfeiting, as by the other laws in force againſt the exportation of wool. This law, however, (1 Will. III. chap. 32.) is ſo very indulgent as to declare, that "this ſhall not hinder any perſon from "carrying his wool home from the place of ſhearing, "though it be within five miles of the ſea, provided "that in ten days after ſhearing, and before he re-

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" move the wool, he do under his hand certify to the " next officer of the cuſtoms, the true number of " fleeces, and where it is houſed; and do not remove " the ſame, without certifying to ſuch officer, under " his hand, his intention ſo to do, three days before." Bond muſt be given that the wool to be carried coaſtways is to be landed at the particular port for which it is entered outwards; and if any part of it is landed without the preſence of an officer, not only the forfeiture of the wool is incurred as in other goods, but the uſual additional penalty of three ſhillings for every pound weight is likewiſe incurred.

OUR woollen manufacturers, in order to juſtify their demand of ſuch extraordinary reſtrictions and regulations, confidently aſſerted, that Engliſh wool was of a peculiar quality, ſuperior to that of any other country; that the wool of other countries could not, without ſome mixture of it, be wrought up into any tolerable manufacture; that fine cloth could not be made without it; that England, therefore, if the exportation of it could be totally prevented, could monopolize to herſelf almoſt the whole woollen trade of the world, and thus, having no rivals, could ſell at what price ſhe pleaſed, and in a ſhort time acquire the moſt incredible degree of wealth by the moſt advantageous balance of trade. This doctrine, like moſt other doctrines which are confidently aſſerted by any conſiderable number of people, was, and ſtill continues to be, moſt implicitly believed by a much greater number; by almoſt all thoſe who are either unacquainted with the woollen trade, or who have not made particular enquiries. It is, however, ſo perfectly falſe, that Engliſh wool is in any reſpect neceſſary for the making of fine cloth, that it is altogether unfit for it. Fine cloth is made altogether of Spaniſh wool. Engliſh wool cannot be even ſo mixed with Spaniſh wool as to enter into the compoſition without

without ſpoiling and degrading, in ſome degree, the fabric of the cloth.

IT has been ſhown in the foregoing part of this work, that the effect of theſe regulations has been to depreſs the price of Engliſh wool, not only below what it naturally would be in the preſent times, but very much below what it actually was in the time of Edward III. The price of Scots wool, when in conſequence of the union it became ſubject to the ſame regulations, is ſaid to have fallen about one half. It is obſerved by the very accurate and intelligent author of the Memoirs of Wool, the reverend Mr. John Smith, that the price of the beſt Engliſh wool in England is generally below what wool of a very inferior quality commonly ſells for in the market of Amſterdam. To depreſs the price of this commodity below what may be called its natural and proper price, was the avowed purpoſe of thoſe regulations; and there ſeems to be no doubt of their having produced the effect that was expected from them.

THIS reduction of price, it may perhaps be thought, by diſcouraging the growing of wool, muſt have reduced very much the annual produce of that commodity, though not below what it formerly was, yet below what, in the preſent ſtate of things, it probably would have been, had it, in conſequence of an open and free market, been allowed to riſe to the natural and proper price. I am, however, diſpoſed to believe, that the quantity of the annual produce cannot have been much, though it may perhaps have been a little, affected by theſe regulations. The growing of wool is not the chief purpoſe for which the ſheep farmer employs his induſtry and ſtock. He expects his profit, not ſo much from the price of the fleece, as from that of the carcaſe; and the average or ordinary price of the latter, muſt even, in many caſes, make up to him whatever deficiency there may be in the average

or ordinary price of the former. It has been obſerved in the foregoing part of this work, that "Whatever regulations tend to ſink the price, either of wool or raw hides, below what it naturally would be, muſt, in an improved and cultivated country, have ſome tendency to raiſe the price of butcher's-meat. The price both of the great and ſmall cattle which are fed on improved and cultivated land, muſt be ſufficient to pay the rent which the landlord, and the profit which the farmer has reaſon to expect from improved and cultivated land. If it is not, they will ſoon ceaſe to feed them. Whatever part of this price, therefore, is not paid by the wool and the hide, muſt be paid by the carcaſe. The leſs there is paid for the one, the more muſt be paid for the other. In what manner this price is to be divided upon the different parts of the beaſt, is indifferent to the landlords and farmers, provided it is all paid to them. In an improved and cultivated country, therefore, their intereſt as landlords and farmers cannot be much affected by ſuch regulations, tho' their intereſt as conſumers may, by the riſe in the price of proviſions." According to this reaſoning, therefore, this degradation in the price of wool is not likely, in an improved and cultivated country, to occaſion any diminution in the annual produce of that commodity; except ſo far as, by raiſing the price of mutton, it may ſomewhat diminiſh the demand for, and conſequently the production of, that particular ſpecies of butcher's-meat. Its effect, however, even in this way, it is probable, is not very conſiderable.

But though its effect upon the quantity of the annual produce may not have been very conſiderable, its effect upon the quality, it may perhaps be thought, muſt neceſſarily have been very great. The degradation in the quality of Engliſh wool, if not below what it was in former times, yet below what it naturally would

would have been in the preſent ſtate of improvement and cultivation, muſt have been, it may perhaps be uppoſed, very nearly in proportion to the degradation of price. As the quality depends upon the breed, upon the paſture, and upon the management and cleanlineſs of the ſheep, during the whole progreſs of the growth of the fleece, the attention to theſe circumſtances, it may naturally enough be imagined, can never be greater than in proportion to the recompence which the price of the fleece is likely to make for the labour and expence which that attention requires. It happens, however, that the goodneſs of the fleece depends, in a great meaſure, upon the health, growth, and bulk of the animal; the ſame attention which is neceſſary for the improvement of the carcaſe, is, in ſome reſpects, ſufficient for that of the fleece. Notwithſtanding the degradation of price, Engliſh wool is ſaid to have been improved conſiderably during the courſe even of the preſent century. The improvement might perhaps have been greater if the price had been better; but the lowneſs of price, though it may have obſtructed, yet certainly it has not altogether prevented that improvement.

THE violence of theſe regulations, therefore, ſeems to have affected neither the quantity nor the quality of the annual produce of wool ſo much as it might have been expected to do (though I think it probable that it may have affected the latter a good deal more than the former); and the intereſt of the growers of wool, though it muſt have been hurt in ſome degree, ſeems, upon the whole, to have been much leſs hurt than could well have been imagined.

THESE conſiderations, however, will not juſtify the abſolute prohibition of the exportation of wool. But they will fully juſtify the impoſition of a conſiderable tax upon that exportation.

To hurt in any degree the intereſt of any one order of citizens, for no other purpoſe but to promote that of ſome other, is evidently contrary to that juſtice and equality of treatment which the ſovereign owes to all the different orders of his ſubjects. But the prohibition certainly hurts, in ſome degree, the intereſt of the growers of wool, for no other purpoſe but to promote that of the manufacturers.

EVERY different order of citizens is bound to contribute to the ſupport of the ſovereign or commonwealth. A tax of five, or even of ten ſhillings upon the exportation of every tod of wool, would produce a very conſiderable revenue to the ſovereign. It would hurt the intereſt of the growers ſomewhat leſs than the prohibition, becauſe it would not probably lower the price of wool quite ſo much. It would afford a ſufficient advantage to the manufacturer, becauſe, though he might not buy his wool altogether ſo cheap as under the prohibition, he would ſtill buy it, at leaſt, five or ten ſhillings cheaper than any foreign manufacturer could buy it, beſides ſaving the freight and inſurance, which the other would be obliged to pay. It is ſcarce poſſible to deviſe a tax which could produce any conſiderable revenue to the ſovereign, and at the ſame time occaſion ſo little inconveniency to any body.

THE prohibition, notwithſtanding all the penalties which guard it, does not prevent the exportation of wool. It is exported, it is well known, in great quantities. The great difference between the price in the home and that in the foreign market preſents ſuch a temptation to ſmuggling, that all the rigour of the law cannot prevent it. This illegal exportation is advantageous to nobody but the ſmuggler. A legal exportation ſubject to a tax, by affording a revenue to the ſovereign, and thereby ſaving the impoſition of ſome other, perhaps, more burdenſome and

inconvenient taxes, might prove advantageous to all the different ſubjects of the ſtate.

THE exportation of fuller's earth, or fuller's clay, ſuppoſed to be neceſſary for preparing and cleanſing the woollen manufactures, has been ſubjected to nearly the ſame penalties as the exportation of wool. Even tobacco-pipe clay, though acknowledged to be different from fuller's clay, yet, on account of their reſemblance, and becauſe fuller's clay might ſometimes be exported as tobacco-pipe clay, has been laid under the ſame prohibitions and penalties.

BY the 13th and 14th of Charl. II. chap. 7. the exportation, not only of raw hides, but of tanned leather, except in the ſhape of boots, ſhoes, or ſlippers, was prohibited; and the law gave a monopoly to our boot-makers and ſhoe-makers, not only againſt our graziers, but againſt our tanners. By ſubſequent ſtatutes our tanners have got themſelves exempted from this monopoly, upon paying a ſmall tax of only one ſhilling on the hundred weight of tanned leather, weighing one hundred and twelve pounds. They have obtained likewiſe the drawback of two-thirds of the exciſe duties impoſed upon their commodity, even when exported without further manufacture. All manufactures of leather may be exported duty free; and the exporter is beſides entitled to the drawback of the whole duties of exciſe. Our graziers ſtill continue ſubject to the old monopoly. Graziers ſeparated from one another, and diſperſed through all the different corners of the country, cannot, without great difficulty, combine together for the purpoſe either of impoſing monopolies upon their fellow citizens, or of exempting themſelves from ſuch as may have been impoſed upon them by other people. Manufacturers of all kinds, collected together in numerous bodies in all great cities, eaſily can. Even the horns of cattle are prohibited to be exported; and the two inſignificant trades of

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the horner and comb-maker enjoy, in this reſpect, a monopoly againſt the graziers.

RESTRAINTS, either by prohibitions or by taxes, upon the exportation of goods which are partially, but not completely manufactured, are not peculiar to the manufacture of leather. As long as any thing remains to be done, in order to fit any commodity for immediate uſe and conſumption, our manufacturers think that they themſelves ought to have the doing of it. Woollen yarn and worſted are prohibited to be exported under the ſame penalties as wool. Even white cloths are ſubject to a duty upon exportation, and our dyers have ſo far obtained a monopoly againſt our clothiers. Our clothiers would probably have been able to defend themſelves againſt it, but it happens that the greater part of our principal clothiers are themſelves likewiſe dyers. Watch-caſes, clock-caſes, and dial-plates for clocks and watches, have been prohibited to be exported. Our clock-makers and watch-makers are, it ſeems, unwilling that the price of this ſort of workmanſhip ſhould be raiſed upon them by the competition of foreigners.

BY ſome old ſtatutes of Edward III., Henry VIII., and Edward VI., the exportation of all metals was prohibited. Lead and tin were alone excepted; probably on account of the great abundance of thoſe metals; in the exportation of which, a conſiderable part of the trade of the kingdom in thoſe days conſiſted. For the encouragement of the mining trade, the 5th of William and Mary, chap. 17. exempted from this prohibition, iron, copper, and mundic metal made from Britiſh ore. The exportation of all ſorts of copper bars, foreign as well as Britiſh was afterwards permitted by the 9th and 10th of Will. III. chap. 26. The exportation of unmanufactured braſs, of what is called gun-metal, bell-metal, and ſhroff-metal, ſtill

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continues to be prohibited. Brass manufactures of all sorts may be exported duty free.

THE exportation of the materials of manufacture, where it is not altogether prohibited, is in many cases subjected to considerable duties.

BY the 8th George I. chap. 15., the exportation of all goods, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, upon which any duties had been imposed by former statutes, was rendered duty free. The following goods, however, were excepted: Allum, lead, lead ore, tin, tanned leather, copperas, coals, wool cards, white woollen cloths, lapis calaminaris, skins of all sorts, glue, coney hair or wool, hares wool, hair of all sorts, horses, and litharge of lead. If you except horses, all these are either materials of manufacture, or incomplete manufactures (which may be considered as materials for still further manufacture), or instruments of trade. This statute leaves them subject to all the old duties which had ever been imposed upon them, the old subsidy and one per cent. outwards.

BY the same statute a great number of foreign drugs for dyers use, are exempted from all duties upon importation. Each of them, however, is afterwards subjected to a certain duty, not indeed a very heavy one, upon exportation. Our dyers, it seems, while they thought it for their interest to encourage the importation of those drugs, by an exemption from all duties, thought it likewise for their interest to throw some small discouragement upon their exportation. The avidity, however, which suggested this notable piece of mercantile ingenuity, most probably disappointed itself of its object. It necessarily taught the importers to be more careful than they might otherwise have been, that their importation should not exceed what was necessary for the supply of the home market. The home market was at all times

times likely to be more ſcantily ſupplied; the commodities were at all times likely to be ſomewhat dearer there than they would have been, had the exportation been rendered as free as the importation.

By the above-mentioned ſtatute, gum ſenega, or gum arabic, being among the enumerated dying drugs, might be imported duty free. They were ſubjected, indeed, to a ſmall poundage duty, amounting only to three pence in the hundred weight upon their re-exportation. France enjoyed, at that time, an excluſive trade to the country moſt productive of thoſe drugs, that which lies in the neighbourhood of the Senegal; and the Britiſh market could not eaſily be ſupplied by the immediate importation of them from the place of growth. By the 25 Geo. II. therefore, gum ſenega was allowed to be imported (contrary to the general diſpoſitions of the act of navigation), from any part of Europe. As the law, however, did not mean to encourage this ſpecies of trade, ſo contrary to the general principles of the mercantile policy of England, it impoſed a duty of ten ſhillings the hundred weight upon ſuch importation, and no part of this duty was to be afterwards drawn back upon its exportation. The ſucceſsful war which began in 1755 gave Great Britain the ſame excluſive trade to thoſe countries which France had enjoyed before. Our manufacturers, as ſoon as the peace was made, endeavoured to avail themſelves of this advantage, and to eſtabliſh a monopoly in their own favour, both againſt the growers, and againſt the importers of this commodity. By the 5th Geo. III. therefore, chap. 37. the exportation of gum ſenega from his majeſty's dominions in Africa was confined to Great Britain, and was ſubjected to all the ſame reſtrictions, regulations, forfeitures and penalties, as that of the enumerated commodities of the Britiſh colonies in America and the Weſt Indies. Its im-

portation, indeed, was subjected to a small duty of six-pence the hundred weight, but its re-exportation was subjected to the enormous duty of one pound ten shillings the hundred weight. It was the intention of our manufacturers that the whole produce of those countries should be imported into Great Britain, and in order that they themselves might be enabled to buy it at their own price, that no part of it should be exported again, but at such an expence as would sufficiently discourage that exportation. Their avidity, however, upon this, as well as upon many other occasions, disappointed itself of its object. This enormous duty presented such a temptation to smuggling, that great quantities of this commodity were clandestinely exported, probably to all the manufacturing countries of Europe, but particularly to Holland, not only from Great Britain but from Africa. Upon this account, by the 14 Geo. III. chap. 10. this duty upon exportation was reduced to five shillings the hundred weight.

IN the book of rates, according to which the old subsidy was levied, beaver skins were estimated at six shillings and eight-pence a piece, and the different subsidies and imposts, which before the year 1722 had been laid upon their importation, amounted to one-fifth part of the rate, or to sixteen-pence upon each skin; all of which, except half the old subsidy, amounting only to two-pence, was drawn back upon exportation. This duty upon the importation of so important a material of manufacture had been thought too high, and, in the year 1722, the rate was reduced to two shillings and six-pence, which reduced the duty upon importation to six-pence, and of this only one half was to be drawn back upon exportation. The same successful war put the country most productive of beaver under the dominion of Great Britain, and beaver skins being among the enumerated

ed commodities, their exportation from America was consequently confined to the market of Great Britain. Our manufacturers soon bethought themselves of the advantage which they might make of this circumstance, and in the year 1764, the duty upon the importation of beaver-skin was reduced to one penny, but the duty upon exportation was raised to sevenpence each skin, without any drawback of the duty upon importation. By the same law, a duty of eighteen-pence the pound was imposed upon the exportation of beaver-wool or wombs, without making any alteration in the duty upon the importation of that commodity, which, when imported by British and in British shipping, amounted at that time to between four-pence and five-pence the piece.

COALS may be considered both as a material of manufacture and as an instrument of trade. Heavy duties, accordingly, have been imposed upon their exportation, amounting at present (1783) to more than five shillings the ton, or to more than fifteen shillings the chaldron, Newcastle measure; which is in most cases more than the original value of the commodity at the coal pit, or even at the shipping port for exportation.

THE exportation, however, of the instruments of trade, properly so called, is commonly restrained, not by high duties, but by absolute prohibitions. Thus by the 7th and 8th of William III. chap. 20. sect. 8. the exportation of frames or engines for knitting gloves or stockings is prohibited under the penalty, not only of the forfeiture of such frames or engines, so exported, or attempted to be exported, but of forty pounds, one half to the king, the other to the person who shall inform or sue for the same. In the same manner by the 14th Geo. III. chap. 71. the exportation to foreign parts, of any utensils made use of in the cotton, linen, woollen and silk manufactures, is prohibited under

under the penalty, not only of the forfeiture of ſuch utenſils, but of two hundred pounds, to be paid by the perſon who ſhall offend in this manner, and likewiſe of two hundred pounds to be paid by the maſter of the ſhip who ſhall knowingly ſuffer ſuch utenſils to be loaded on board his ſhip.

WHEN ſuch heavy penalties were impoſed upon the exportation of the dead inſtruments of trade, it could not well be expected that the living inſtrument, the artificer, ſhould be allowed to go free. Accordingly, by the 5 Geo. I. chap 27. the perſon who ſhall be convicted of enticing any artificer of, or in any of the manufactures of Great Britain, to go into any foreign parts, in order to practiſe or teach his trade, is liable for the firſt offence to be fined in any ſum not exceeding one hundred pounds, and to three months impriſonment, and until the fine ſhall be paid; and for the ſecond offence, to be fined in any ſum at the diſcretion of the court, and to impriſonment for twelve months, and until the fine ſhall be paid. By the 23 Geo. II. chap. 13. this penalty is increaſed for the firſt offence to five hundred pounds for every artificer ſo enticed, and to twelve months impriſonment, and until the fine ſhall be paid; and for the ſecond offence, to one thouſand pounds, and to two years impriſonment, and until the fine ſhall be paid.

BY the former of thoſe two ſtatutes, upon proof that any perſon has been enticing any artificer, or that any artificer has promiſed or contracted to go into foreign parts for the purpoſes aforeſaid, ſuch artificer may be obliged to give ſecurity at the diſcretion of the court, that he ſhall not go beyond the ſeas, and may be committed to priſon until he give ſuch ſecurity.

IF any artificer has gone beyond the ſeas, and is exerciſing or teaching his trade in any foreign country, upon warning being given to him by any of his majeſty's miniſters or conſuls abroad, or by one of his

majeſty's

majesty's secretaries of state for the time being, if he does not, within six months after such warning, return into this realm, and from thenceforth abide and inhabit continually within the same, he is from thenceforth declared incapable of taking any legacy devised to him within this kingdom, or of being executor or administrator to any person, or of taking any lands within this kingdom by descent, devise, or purchase. He likewise forfeits to the king, all his lands, goods and chattels, is declared an alien in every respect, and is put out of the king's protection.

It is unnecessary, I imagine, to observe, how contrary such regulations are to the boasted liberty of the subject, of which we affect to be so very jealous; but which, in this case, is so plainly sacrificed to the futile interests of our merchants and manufacturers.

The laudable motive of all these regulations, is to extend our own manufactures, not by their own improvement, but by the depression of those of all our neighbours, and by putting an end, as much as possible, to the troublesome competition of such odious and disagreeable rivals. Our master manufacturers think it reasonable, that they themselves should have the monopoly of the ingenuity of all their countrymen. Though by restraining, in some trades, the number of apprentices which can be employed at one time, and by imposing the necessity of a long apprenticeship in all trades, they endeavour, all of them, to confine the knowledge of their respective employments to as small a number as possible; they are unwilling, however, that any part of this small number should go abroad to instruct foreigners.

Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer. The maxim is so perfectly self-evident, that it would be absurd to attempt

tempt to prove it. But in the mercantile system, the interest of the consumer is almost constantly sacrificed to that of the producer; and it seems to consider production, and not consumption, as the ultimate end and object of all industry and commerce.

IN the restraints upon the importation of all foreign commodities which can come into competition with those of our own growth, or manufacture, the interest of the home-consumer is evidently sacrificed to that of the producer. It is altogether for the benefit of the latter, that the former is obliged to pay that enhancement of price which this monopoly almost always occasions.

IT is altogether for the benefit of the producer that bounties are granted upon the exportation of some of his productions. The home-consumer is obliged to pay, first, the tax which is necessary for paying the bounty, and secondly, the still greater tax which necessarily arises from the enhancement of the price of the commodity in the home market.

BY the famous treaty of commerce with Portugal, the consumer is prevented by high duties from purchasing of a neighbouring country, a commodity which our own climate does not produce, but is obliged to purchase it of a distant country, though it is acknowledged, that the commodity of the distant country is of a worse quality than that of the near one. The home-consumer is obliged to submit to this inconveniency, in order that the producer may import into the distant country some of his productions upon more advantageous terms than he would otherwise have been allowed to do. The consumer, too, is obliged to pay, whatever enhancement in the price of those very productions, this forced exportation may occasion in the home market,

BUT in the system of laws which has been established for the management of our American and West Indian

Indian colonies, the intereſt of the home-conſumer has been ſacrificed to that of the producer with a more extravagant profuſion than in all our other commercial regulations. A great empire has been eſtabliſhed for the ſole purpoſe of raiſing up a nation of cuſtomers who ſhould be obliged to buy from the ſhops of our different producers, all the goods with which theſe could ſupply them. For the ſake of that little enhancement of price which this monopoly might afford our producers, the home-conſumers have been burdened with the whole expence of maintaining and defending that empire. For this purpoſe, and for this purpoſe only, in the two laſt wars, more than two hundred millions have been ſpent, and a new debt of more than a hundred and ſeventy millions has been contracted over and above all that has been expended for the ſame purpoſe in former wars. The intereſt of this debt alone is not only greater than the whole extraordinary profit, which, it ever could be pretended, was made by the monopoly of the colony trade, but than the whole value of that trade, or than the whole value of the goods, which at an average have been annually exported to the colonies.

It cannot be very difficult to determine who have been the contrivers of this whole mercantile ſyſtem; not the conſumers, we may believe, whoſe intereſt has been entirely neglected; but the producers, whoſe intereſt has been ſo carefully attended to; and among this latter claſs our merchants and manufacturers have been by far the principal architects. In the mercantile regulations, which have been taken notice of in this chapter, the intereſt of our manufacturers has been moſt peculiarly attended to; and the intereſt, not ſo much of the conſumers, as that of ſome other ſorts of producers, has been ſacrificed to it.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE two following Accounts are subjoined in order to illustrate and confirm what is said in the Fifth Chapter of the Fourth Book, concerning the Tonnage bounty to the White Herring Fishery. The Reader, I believe, may depend upon the accuracy of both Accounts.

An Account of Busses fitted out in Scotland for Eleven Years, with the number of Empty Barrels carried out, and the Number of Barrels of Herrings caught; also the Bounty at a Medium on each Barrel of Seastecks, and on each Barrel when fully packed.

Years.	Number of Busses.	Empty Barrels carried out.	Barrels of Herrings caught.	Bounty paid on the Busses.		
				£.	s.	d.
1771	29	5948	2832	2085	0	0
1772	168	41316	22237	11055	7	6
1773	190	42333	42055	12510	8	6
1774	248	59303	56365	16952	2	6
1775	275	69144	52879	19315	15	0
1776	294	76329	51863	21290	7	6
1777	240	62679	43313	17592	2	6
1778	220	56390	40958	16316	2	6
1779	206	55194	29367	15287	0	0
1780	181	48315	19885	13445	12	6
1781	135	33992	16593	9613	12	6
Total	2186	550943	378347	155463	11	0

Seafteeks	378347	Bounty at a medium for each barrel of seafteeks, £. 0 8 2¼ But a barrel of seafteeks being only reckoned two-thirds of a barrel fully packed, one-third is deducted, which brings the bounty to £. 0 12 3¾
⅓ deducted	126115⅔	
Barrels full packed,	252231⅓	

And if the herrings are exported, there is befides a premium of - 0 2 8

So that the bounty paid by Government in money for each barrel, is £. 0 14 11¾

But if to this, the duty of the falt ufually taken credit for as expended in curing each barrel, which at a medium is of foreign, one bufhel and one-fourth of a bufhel, at 10*s.* a bufhel, be added, viz. - - - 0 12 6

The bounty on each barrel would amount to - - £. 1 7 5¾

If the herrings are cured with Britifh falt, it will ftand thus, viz.

Bounty as before - - £. 0 14 11¾

—but if to this bounty the duty on two bufhels of Scots falt at 1*s.* 6*d.* per bufhel, fuppofed to be the quantity at a medium ufed in curing each barrel is added, to wit, - £. 0 3 0

The bounty on each barrel will amount to - - - £. 0 17 11¾

And,

When buſs herrings are entered for home conſumption in Scotland, and pay the ſhilling a barrel of duty, the bounty ſtands thus, to wit as before £. 0 12 3¾

From which the 1s. a barrel is to be deducted - - - 0 1 0

0 11 3¾

But to that there is to be added again, the duty of the foreign ſalt uſed in curing a barrel of herrings, viz. 0 12 6

So that the premium allowed for each barrel of herrings entered for home conſumption is - £. 1 3 9¾

If the herrings are cured with Britiſh ſalt, it will ſtand as follows, viz.

Bounty on each barrel brought in by the buſſes as above - - - £. 0 12 3¾

From which deduct the 1s. a barrel paid at the time they are entered for home conſumption - 0 1 0

£. 0 11 3¾

But if to the bounty the duty on two buſhels of Scots ſalt at 1s. 6d. per buſhel, ſuppoſed to be the quantity at a medium uſed in curing each barrel, is added, to wit, 0 3 0

The premium for each barrel entered for home conſumption will be £. 0 14 3¾

THOUGH the loſs of duties upon herrings exported cannot, perhaps, properly be conſidered as bounty; that upon herrings entered for home conſumption certainly may.

An Account of the Quantity of Foreign Salt imported into Scotland, and of Scots Salt delivered Duty free from the Works there for the Fiſhery, from the 5th of April 1771 to the 5th of April 1782, with a Medium of both for one year.

PERIOD.	Foreign Salt imported.	Scots Salt delivered from the Works.
	Buſhels.	Buſhels.
From the 5th of April 1771, to the 5th of April 1782.	936974	168226
Medium for one Year	85179 $\frac{5}{11}$	15293 $\frac{3}{11}$

IT is to be obſerved that the Buſhel of Foreign Salt weighs 84 lb. that of Britiſh Salt 56 lb. only.

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